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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A NEW ENGLAND GIRL.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

CHAPTER XI.

There would be little use or pleasure in recalling the six or eight months that followed, were it not that, dreary as they were, they fastened within me a fixedness of purpose and an silent energy of will, for which I have had much reason to be thankful. I do not know what Miss Agness thought or said about it, perhaps she did not venture to say anything, but it seemed decided, from the hour of Mrs. Reed's arrival, that my place was in the kitchen. I did not rebel—I felt quite content to be spared the constant criticisms of herself and Mr. Tyler—besides, Hannah I had come to look on as my best friend, next to Miss Agnes. But Hannah had spoken words in that one interview by my bedside, which made her stay there impossible, contemptuously as Mrs. Reed affected to take them. She admitted no right of independent thought, much less of speech, among her subordinates, and the faithful old servant must go.

Fortunately, a letter from her brother in Willimantic, telling of sickness in his family, formed a plausible excuse for the necessity which she felt as strongly as Mrs. Reed.

It was a sad day for me when she left—a sad one for Miss Agnes, too. Hannah had an interview with her just before she went away, and when she bade me "good by," she whispered—

"I spoke a good word for you, Lina, for all *he* and *she* were there. I said 'twas no place for you in the kitchen, with furrin servant girls, and he said she would do what was right. I hope she will. I know she will, if left to herself; but you must try to do well for her sake; for, God forgive me if I'm wrong, but I think some folks in this world don't care how bad you do. You must spite them in this, Lina, and may be all is for the best. We ought to think so, I s'pose, but there are so many things to stick in one's throat, that it's hard saying it. Remember Eli Smith's, Willimantic, child;" and with a grasp that made my hand tingle with pain, she departed.

Now, the old home was indeed gone—and I was as friendless and solitary as when Miss Agnes brought me there, three years before. Hannah's place was supplied by a series of Irish girls, for Mrs. Reed, being one of those mistresses who always act on the assumption that servants are dishonest, seldom kept one more than four weeks, and I had no time to make friends with them, if I wished.

My schoolmates now saw Sarah Reed when they called. I think now that many of them would have been glad to see me; but, reasoning like a child, I thought if others despised and disliked me, they must. I grew silent and reserved, and Mr. Tyler thought me completely subdued.

I suppose Sarah Reed was no worse than other children naturally, but, seeing others treat me with dislike and neglect, she improved upon the example, and very naturally exercised her authority by ordering me about, and when I refused to obey, and high words followed, giving her own version of the affair to her mother, who said frequently that I was the "worst tempered, most provoking girl she ever saw." I dare say I was provoking, but she ought to have known that neglect and aversion are poor tools wherewith to win a human soul to gentleness and love, and not have laid to God's making that which was only of her own marring.

Augustus Tyler and Sarah Reed squabbled constantly among themselves, but they were always ready to be close allies against me; and as I well knew there was no redress in complaint, I bore their gibes and tricks with an outward stoicism which I was very far from feeling. More than ever since Hannah's departure did I dread the appearance of Augustus in the kitchen, with his unwholesome skin and dull, stony eyes. I instinctively shrunk from him, and he seemed to delight in ferreting me out from each nook, where I chose to ensconse myself during my leisure moments, on some pretence or other. But only my own room was free from him. But it was not from Sarah. She was possessed, as such small minds usually are, with an insatiable curiosity. No nook or corner of the house was safe from her peering eyes, scarcely from her hands, for her selfishness equalled her curiosity. She was covetous of everything—not like Augustus, simply to gratify her appetite, but from a mere miserly love of hoarding. She had no scruples about entering my room when she choose, and she no sooner saw Ollie's legacy, my precious little trunk, that she coveted it for herself. "She wanted such a little trunk to hold her dissecting maps. Would not I give it to her?"

"No. I should not give it to any one."

"Would not I sell it, then—she would give me her picture of 'Elizabeth' (I did not know what a beautiful lady it was) and a string of black glass beads for it; she would even give me the pretty piece of pink calico Aunt Tyler gave her last week—it would make me a nice apron. Would I swap?"

"No."

"What did I want that trunk for? She was sure an apron would be of much more use!" How much like her mother she was, as she put that question.

"To put my things in, to be sure," I said.

"What things? Let me see them?"

I answered by replacing the trunk upon the chest where it had stood ever since I had come home with Miss Agnes, for I had been sweeping and dusting my room when she came in.

"You daren't open it!" she said, tauntingly. "You know you haven't got any things."

"I have, too," I replied, doggedly; "and some of them I brought from a great ways off from here!"

"You lie," she said, angrily; "I know all about your lies. Uncle told me, and said I mustn't be like you, Miss. Besides, you were poor—town poor, without a decent rag to your back, when aunt took you; and how should you have anything?"

The hot angry blood rushed burning to my brow, and the hot angry words to my lips, but I remembered Miss Agnes and all she had said to me during that interview. I remembered her little dead baby, and all she had hoped from it, and my own silent vow; and, choking down my anger, shutting back the angry words with clenched teeth, I kept on my work in silence.

"You need not sulk, Miss," she said, after waiting a moment; "it wont do here. Besides, nobody cares whether you speak or not. I shall see what there is in that trunk sometime, you see if I don't. I guess if mamma says so, it will come open."

I made no reply; but as soon as she had descended the last stair, I burst into tears. I was not angry then, but ah! so unutterably wretched! I felt so homeless, so unprotected and friendless. Why was I so unlike other children in these respects? Why had I no father, or mother, or uncle, or aunt, like Sarah Reed? Who were my parents? Where did they die? Sarah's words had recalled Brainshand and my life there—old Sally Hunt and Uncle Steve, little Ad'line, and Polly Maria—and I wondered if I could find the way to the Cove, and if Uncle Steve would let me live with them if I did. I thought he would; but the events of the last two years had unsettled my notions of everything. Why did they all dislike me? Why did Miss Agnes now so seldom see me? Why did she speak so hurriedly when she did, as if afraid to be seen doing it. She said she had forgiven me for my falsehood, and that God would forgive me. Why did Mrs. Reed, who was so anxious that Sarah and Augustus should speak properly, allow them to taunt me with being a pauper, and treat me with such arrogant injustice. They would not be allowed to speak to Helen Hall, or Bessie Carter, in that way. Oh, how wearily, and in what a chaos of childish ignorance and darkness I puzzled over these queries. Later, when I was old enough to read the world, I knew I was in the way. I was the adopted child of Mrs. Tyler; she was "weak-minded," and "foolish" in some of her whims. I was a present expense, and I might cut them off from some portion of her property. Besides, I was not like them; I had nothing in common with them, and they could not love what they could not comprehend. I was dimly conscious of this dissimilarity then; for if they did not love me, I did not love them; and I shocked Mr. Tyler, in replying to some query of his one Sunday, for I was still catechized with the others, by bluntly acknowledging this.

Passing through the hall when I went down, I met Miss Agnes. I would have avoided her, unwilling that she should see the traces of my tears; but she laid her hand on my arm, and placing the other under my chin, said—

"What makes you look so pale, Lina? And been crying too! what for?"

I made some hasty answer, and Mrs. Reed entering at that moment, she released me; but from the few words I heard that lady say, as I went out, I knew Miss Agnes had been speaking of me, for she said—

"She is well enough, but has been in a pet about something, I dare say. She has a terrible temper. I don't see how such a sweet-disposed person as yourself ever managed her. She taxes my patience to the utmost."

I did not hear my mistress's low reply, but Mrs. Reed's cold, iron tones were very distinct, as she said—

"Oh, yes, you did. Pray don't accuse yourself of wrong. Your nature would not allow it. Besides, Miss Harriet Hart said, no longer than yesterday, that you make a slave of yourself for her. It was injudicious, to say the least."

"Zerlina Day!" Mrs. Reed spoke in her most inflexible tones one half an hour afterward, as she came into the kitchen, "if you choose to sniffle and cry all the time, I trust henceforth you will not do it in Mrs. Tyler's presence. She is weak and excitable, and it seems as if you took a pleasure in distressing her. I wonder how you can be so ungrateful! I never cry!"

I don't think she did, and it was the last time she had the pleasure of reprimanding me for such a weakness.

One thing kept alive hope, and nourished within me the seeds of ambition and energy. I was a better scholar than Augustus or Sarah. The discipline of the last two years, and my silent, reserved life, had given me the power of concentration which I lacked before; and, to do Mr. Tyler justice, (for I ought to have said that since Sarah's arrival he had matured his plan, and taught us himself,) his method was uniform and direct, very different from the desultory way of dear Miss Agnes.

That I shared in the benefit of his instructions, was, as I learned from Sarah Reed, "a whim of Aunty Tyler's." To be sure I had but three hours in the day—Mrs. Reed could spare no more to devote to my books, two for study and one for recitation—but my success made me diligent, and Mr. Tyler's efforts to shame his son and niece for their failures, by descanting upon my lowly condition and scanty advantages, instead of vexing, only stimulated me; and I could well afford to hear the petty tyrannies with which they avenged their defeats, when I saw Miss Agnes's eye brighten and her cheeks flush, as they sometimes did, when she came into the study with her work, ostensibly to admire Mr. Tyler's method.

Hitherto we had all been in the English branches; but they were soon put into Latin and French, for which I, as a servant, would have no need. I do not think the airs that Sarah, particularly, gave herself on this occasion, and the manner in which she spoke of Mousieur Beauchessne, the French teacher in Bubbleville, to whom they went twice a week to recite, wounded me half so much as the thought that I, who might learn, was shut out. Success had awoke in me a real love of study; success had brought the thought, "Why should not I be a teacher, as well as Sarah Reed? Why should I accept the condition of servitude? Their saying so is not final; (that was a great thought for me;) or, if must serve, why should I not choose something beside this kitchen drudgery, which Mrs. Reed daily puts upon me? Why should I not have a school some day, and take all the little friendless children to my care? With Hannah for my housekeeper, and little Ad'line Leete should help me; Uncle Steve should come, too, and, therefore, my home must be in sight of the broad, blue sea, that we all loved so well."

With such visions as this, I was not so very poor as I seemed. Still they might have remained visions, and nothing more; for that cold, freezing atmosphere was not favorable to revolt, and I must be thoroughly roused, to take the first step towards their execution, had it not been for a circumstance that occurred soon after, and made my absence then as necessary as was that of Hannah Smith.

I have said that Mr. Tyler was something of a gourmand. Miss Agnes had delighted in preparing little delicacies and nice dishes for him, particularly on occasions when his business or pleasure prevented him from eating with the family; and Mrs. Reed, who affected to consult his taste above all things, since her arrival, continued the practice. Sometimes they were prepared for him on ordinary occasions, on plea of a fastidious appetite; and I often wondered how he could eat them with such evident relish, with the greedy, envious eyes of Augustus and Mother Tyler, to say nothing of Sarah Reed, fixed upon every other mouthful.

We children were still supposed to be strictly confined to the vegetarian diet, but it was true only so far as I was concerned; for Grandmother Tyler pursued her foraging expeditions to the kitchen, as usual, even under the eye of Mrs. Reed, who, however she might support her brother in public, did not hesitate to give Sarah a nice bit now and then, in private. I might possibly have shared, or helped myself; but since my illness I had never recovered my appetite, and I did not care for animal food. My chief diet was milk, of which I had a plenty. True, I felt faint and weak and exhausted, often, but then I was not sick; and if I did not "grow a bit," as Miss Fanny Moore often said, and was "thin and sallow as an Indian," there was no one to blame. Miss Moore, I think, felt the change in our household, as much as myself; though her marriage with the Doctor and her new duties gave her something to do besides weeping over sentimental poems.

One day, towards the last of February, Mr. Tyler had occasion to leave home. As he would be absent at dinner, a nice lunch of veal cutlet and toast was prepared for him; I carried the covered dishes into the dining room myself, according to Mrs. Reed's order, and placed them on the table; then, seeing one of the blinds loose, I raised the window, fastened it, and left the room. I saw no one in the room then; but, some moments afterwards, as I was dusting in the hall, Augustus Tyler came out slyly, and stole up stairs. He thought I did not see him, but I did, and that his mouth was stuffed full of some kind of viand.

The next moment Mr. Tyler entered, and passed with Mrs. Reed to the dining-room.

"How! What is this! Who has been eating my toast?" I heard him say.

Mrs. Reed made some reply, which I did not hear; but that was not necessary, as she instantly opened the door, and ordered me to come in.

Mr. Tyler was very angry, I knew by his flashed face, and quick, spasmodic breathing.

"Come here, Zerlina Day," he said, "I want to know how long I and my household are to suffer from your wickedness. Fed by my bounty daily, how dare you—how could you"—he went on, glancing piteously at the half-emptied dish of toast and the mangled veal—"steal the food prepared for my necessities! Speak!"

"I did not, sir."

"Beware, beware; don't fall into your old habits, and think to deceive me. No one has entered this room but you. You were ordered to place it here, and the sin lies at your door."

Before I could reply, Mrs. Reed, who had stood listening to his adjurations with a look of scornful impatience, broke out—

"What is the use of talking to her in this way, brother? There is no believing a word she says. You know she stole the food. It is not the first thing that has been missing lately. Last week, I lost ninepence. If I were you, I would send her back where she came from!"

Somehow, that woman's look and words stirred the passion of resentment and aversion so long fermenting within, to an explosion. Miss Agnes was not present, with her pale face, and timid, pleading eyes, and I burst forth—

"I suppose you would, ma'am; but that will be as Mrs. Tyler says; though, if it wasn't for her, I wouldn't care how quick!"

"Hear—only hear the ungrateful thing!" she said, with a cruel smile.

"I am not ungrateful, ma'am; I would work my fingers to the bone for Miss Agnes; and I have as much right to be here as you!"

"You little impudent wretch! How dare you talk so to me?"

I was trembling from excitement. All the slights, misconstructions, and cold looks, I had endured for the weary months past, seemed rushing to my throat for expression; and Mr. Tyler must have read something of my feeling in my look, for he recoiled, and gazed at me with real astonishment, as I retorted—

"It is the truth. I wish Miss Agnes would send you away! You have made her sick, and pale, and sad. She don't act a bit as she used, nor laugh nor sing, now!"

"The girl is beside herself!" exclaimed Mr. Tyler.

"She is just as she always is, though you don't see her, day after day, as I do. She is the worst-tempered, slyest, most deceitful child I ever saw!" said Mrs. Reed.

"I am not sly—I don't open drawers and peer into people's things, like your Sarah—and I am not deceitful. I do not pretend to like folks, and then talk about them when they are gone away, as you do. I never pretended to like you, and I don't; I couldn't if I tried; and if you want to know who eat the toast and meat, Augustus Tyler did, for I saw him come out of the room a few minutes ago, with his mouth crammed full, and there are some of the leaves of his Latin grammar under the table; and what's more, ma'am," I went on, for a strange feeling of triumph filled me with exultation as I noticed Mr. Tyler's look of consternation, and the anger and surprise in Mrs. Reed's freezing eye, "if you want to know who took your ninepence, ask Augustus where he got the money he bought the oranges he had the day you went to the society at Miss Hart's; or Sarah, how many he gave her not to tell!"

"I will ask them!" she said, flushing red through her thick skin with anger; "but you needn't think to get off by accusing them; I have no doubt but they are clear."

"Call them now, sister," said Mr. Tyler, "and Zerlina Day," he added, turning to me, "I am convinced, after this display, that the hope I cherished of making you a chosen though humble (according to your station) plant in our little vineyard, is false. If it proves, as I fear it will, that you have been again guilty of falsehood and dishonesty in this matter, we shall be forced to send you away, as my sister suggests. Your language and manner is utterly disgraceful—more that of a fury than a young girl!"

An half hour later, when the ferment of passion began to subside, I knew it was—I felt that if it was the truth that I had spoken, it was not for me, a child, to speak it in that way; but I did not see it then, and I made no reply.

Augustus and Sarah came, and the former stoutly denied all knowledge of the missing food, as I knew he would, saying that he had been up stairs, studying his Latin lesson.

"What is your lesson to-day?" asked Mr. Tyler.

"Nouns of the fourth declension, section 126," he said, and was going on with some further assertion, when Mr. Tyler thrust the stray leaf from his old grammar, containing that very lesson, before his eyes, saying, in that tone of passion which I remembered so well—

"Enough. Tell me, then, how came this leaf on the floor here, if you had it up stairs!"

The boy shook, turned pale, and at last burst into tears.

"Now, sir, did you take that toast?"

He blubbered forth the confession, begging for mercy.

I should have pitied Mr. Tyler's surprise and grief at finding such a flaw in his model boy, if I had been in any mood to pity. Besides, I had no time left me; for Mrs. Reed said, with a glance of mingled dread and aversion at me—

"Brother, there is no reason for keeping that girl here longer. She has brought discord enough here, and in Augustus you see the fruit of her evil example. If you choose to bear such language and conduct longer, you can; but either she or I leave the house."

Mr. Tyler made a gesture to me to go. Not a word of apology for the false, degrading accusations against a friendless child—no acknowledgment of mistaken judgment—only "Go!"

I left the room with a hard, angry feeling burning in my heart; but when it went down, and the fierce flames cooled, I felt (as I have said) that I had done wrong.

No provocation could excuse my intemperate and disrespectful manner; and instead of feeling triumph at the vindication of my innocence, I was very wretched, indeed. Many and many a time had I longed to have Augustus and Sarah discovered in some of their tricks. I had anticipated a fierce satisfaction—a triumph—at the thought; but now I could think of nothing but my own violence.

I went to my room. No one called me, as usual, to take my share of the work, and I sat and thought of my wickedness—my broken vow to Miss Agnes—of my dreary position—while the hot, bitter tears fell slowly down my cheeks. I thought of the future. Would they send me away? I had a dreary kind of satisfaction in thinking they would. But when? Again the thought of Uncle Steve and little Ad'line recurred to me, like a light amid my dark world. I felt quite sure that they would shelter me. It was my first day of liberty; but, like all liberty brought by violence and wrong, the old eternal curse clung to it, and poisoned all its moments.

I went down to supper. Of late, I ate in the kitchen with Margaret, and there I saw no one but her. The next day, I went down and performed my usual tasks; but though Mrs. Reed came into the kitchen several times, she did not speak to me, or set me any new tasks, as was her wont. She even did not affect to see me. Had I been a block or stone, she could not have been more unconscious of my presence; and the half-formed resolve to confess my sorrow for my violence was petrified by her indifference.

During the morning, I saw Mr. Tyler and Miss Agnes drive away. The tears came to my eyes as I watched the carriage; for I felt, if she knew the truth of the affair, she could never know all the provocation, and she was lost to me forever. Augustus and Sarah came through the kitchen, but they followed Mrs. Reed's example—they even failed to make grimaces at me; and I knew, from that, I was banned beyond redemption.

Oh, the two weary days that followed!—the suspense and loneliness and dread that filled them! I don't think I could have borne another like them. I did not mind being alone; I was used to that; but to be surrounded by people who looked upon me with ill-concealed disgust, as a thing to be avoided and abhorred—the solitude of the hot, illimitable desert, of which Uncle Steve used to tell, would be preferable to that.

I was glad when a summons from Mr. Tyler, on the third day, called me to the study. I expected severe rebukes—punishment, perhaps—but I was mistaken. He spoke to me pompously—condescendingly, of course—but not so very sternly; and Miss Agnes, who looked agitated, though pleased, greeted me in her old kind way, which brought the water to my eyes.

"Lina," she said, looking gratefully to her husband, "we have some news for you. How would you like to go away to school?"

"Very much, indeed, ma'am."

"Well, Mr. Tyler"—she looked at him, and he waved his hand, as if to say "Go on"—"Mr. Tyler, out of his deep interest for you, and his great desire to gratify me, has been looking a suitable school for you. This morning he received a letter, in reply to one he had written to a lady of his acquaintance, who is preceptress of Oaklawn school, near M——, and she kindly consents to receive you into her family."

"On certain conditions," Mr. Tyler continued. "You will be expected to perform certain portions of labor, during your leisure hours, as an equivalent for your board. The tuition fees we shall discharge, as long as you give satisfaction to Mrs. Ellis. This arrangement we think rather a benefit to you than otherwise, as your position in life is such that you will need to depend in a great degree on your own exertions. Mrs. Tyler thinks you have capacities for a teacher—I am willing you should try."

"I had hoped before this that Cousin Ralph Annesley would have returned from India, and that I might have consulted him," began Miss Agnes; but Mr. Tyler raised his eyebrows in surprise, and she grew confused, while he said—

"Mr. Ralph Annesley's opinions with regard to the destiny of an immortal soul are of little importance, Mrs. Tyler. Were it the training of a dog, it might be otherwise."

Miss Agnes sighed. Perhaps she thought of what he said down by the Pond, when he urged her to take me—"I would at least treat her as well as I do my dogs!" *I* did.

I thanked them earnestly—so earnestly that Miss Agnes said, rather sadly, "Then you are very glad to go, Lina."

"To be sure—she should be"—returned her husband. "Few girls, of her condition, have such advantages held out to them. You will be prepared to take the stage Monday morning, at five o'clock."

"So soon, dear?" inquired my mistress. "I am afraid we shall hardly be able to fit her out in so short a time—she will need some new clothes."

"Very little will be necessary. We do not wish to foster a vain desire for show or conformity to the world. A few plain, substantial garments, will be all that will be needed in that rural retreat."

I had conquered. The "brand" must be cast out of the house, that there might be peace; but did Miss Agnes know why? I never could answer this question; but I think not. Now, I am glad she did not—glad that she saw in the change only another evidence of her husband's great benevolence and goodness.

The three days that followed were very busy ones to me. My trunk was packed late Saturday night, and on Sunday night Mr. Tyler ordered me to say "Good bye" to Mrs. Tyler, as it would not be wise to disturb her so early in the morning as the hour at which the driver had orders to call for me.

I was struck dumb at this proposal, or rather command. I had hoped for one moment with her, my only friend, alone.

For the National Era.

FEBRUARY RAIN.

BY HELEN L. BOSTWICK.

Starless is the night, and dreary,
And my oar is very weary,
Listening to the wind's hoarse sighing,
And the hoarser wave's replying;
To the fitful dash and flutter
Of dead vines against the shutter;
To the pattering and the beating,
To the onslaught and retreating,
And the riotous refrain
Of the February Rain!

If I slumber, dream I only
Of all things most stark and lonely—
Beetling cliffs, with shadows dismal,
Lost in blackest deeps abysmal;
Spectral horsemen, madly riding;
Spectral sails, by moonlight gliding;
Lightning-scarred and blackened branches;
Clicking, shuddering avalanches—
Strange, that Thought should catch such train,
From the February Rain!

Yet I know the kind Earth keepeth
Every little drop that creepeth
Down among the roots of flowers,
To make glad the April hours:
Whispering, 'mid the grains and grasses,
As the cold baptism passes,
"Lo! 'neath aspect of affliction,
Nature's holiest benediction!
Fairer crown shall summer gain,
For the February Rain!

And from this I fain would borrow
Comfort in my night of sorrow;
Trusting that the clouds, distilling
Now such bitter drops, and filling
All my heart with doubt and sadness,
Yet shall water germs of gladness:
Flowers whose bloom shall languish never,
Pure Resolve, and strong Endeavor,
Hope serene, and chastened feeling,
Meek-eyed Faith to Heaven up-stealing,
Patient waiting, self-denial,
Till I bless this stormy trial,
Even as flower, and fruit, and grain,
Bless the February Rain!

Ravenna, Ohio.

SPECIAL SESSIONN OF THE SENATE.

Thursday, March 5, 1857.

The Senate met at one o'clock.

Mr. Allen submitted a resolution that a committee be appointed to wait on the President, and inform him that the Senate had assembled, and was ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to make.

Mr. Mason submitted a resolution fixing the daily hour of meeting at one o'clock.

Mr. Collamer moved to amend it by striking out the word one, and inserting twelve; which was agreed to, and the daily hour of meeting is fixed at 12 M.

Mr. Allen reported that the committee appointed to wait on the President, and inform him that the Senate had assembled, and was ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to make, had performed that duty, and that the President had replied that he would send in a written communication to-morrow.

Mr. Benjamin moved that the Senate take up for consideration the report made by him at the last session, to reorganize the standing committees and fix the number of clerks, &c.; which was agreed to.

There were several amendments made, varying the report somewhat from that published in our paper at the time the report was submitted, such as giving additional members, &c.

Mr. Butler asked to be excused from serving on all committees. He had served eleven years assiduously, and thought he was entitled to a release; but the Senate refused his application.

Mr. Pearce suggested that the Committee on the Library be exempted from the report, as being a joint committee of the two Houses. The motion was agreed to.

The report was then adopted, and the Senate adjourned.

Friday, March 6, 1857.

Mr. Seward presented a memorial, addressed to both Houses of Congress, from certain subjects of Great Britain, praying Congress to refuse its sanction to the convention signed at Paris, April 16th, 1856.

Mr. Mason observed that a document of a similar character, and making the same request, had been sent to him while presiding officer of the Senate, but that after consideration he thought it best to withhold it, in order that there might be no precedent set for the reception of foreign petitions; and would suggest, therefore, that the better course would be to move that the petition be not received.

Mr. Seward acquiesced, and moved that the memorial be not received; which was agreed to.

On motion by Mr. Pearce,

Resolved, That the vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, occasioned by the expiration of the term of the Hon. James M. Mason, be now filled by the President of the Senate.

Mr. Bigler said he rose to a question of privilege. There had been placed in his hands, with a request that they might be presented to the Senate, protests against the validity of the election of his colleague, [Mr. Cameron.] The protest from the House was signed by forty-four members, and that of the Senate by fifteen, detailing the grounds on which the protests were based. He would ask that they be laid on the table until the committee were appointed, when he would move their reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Cameron was understood to express the hope that the protests in question might receive the prompt action of the Senate; and when the committees were appointed, if his colleague [Mr. Bigler] did not at once make the motion, he (Mr. C.) would certainly do so.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business; and, after a brief period spent therein, adjourned to Monday.

Foreign Correspondence of the Era.

LIFE IN PARIS.

PARIS, *February* 2, 1857.

To the Editor of the National Era:

One of the old aristocratic abodes of the Rue de Varennes, Faubourg St. Germaine, inhabited for many years by the late Duchess de Montebello, has been the rendezvous, for the past week, of the fashionable Parisian world.

The fabulous accounts given of the extensive collection made by her, consisting principally of porcelain of various fabrics, periods, and countries, and of nicknacks that have belonged to distinguished persons before the time of Terror up to the present, excited my curiosity to such a degree that I procured a ticket, and followed in the train of distinguished visitors.

Duchess de Montebello was the wife of the famous Marshal Lannes, one of Napoleon's favorite generals, who was known to be possessed with the monomania of collecting relics, especially of china, from the earliest periods of the fabrication of porcelain at *Sèvres, Saxony,* and others. No one, however, had an idea of its extent. Almost every family of note and fortune in Paris collects either paintings, bronzes, plate, or porcelain, to a reasonable degree; but the idea of filling large rooms or more to overflowing with ten and twenty specimens of the same identical article, in form, color, and size—perhaps from the same piece of clay—is preposterous; and had I not myself counted two hundred and fifty-two teapots in two rooms only, I could not credit it.

Duchess de Montebello was very different from many of the wives of Napoleon's marshals—an elegant, intelligent woman. She did not however purchase, like Mrs. Toodles, old china-cups because they were cheap, in the expectation that they would be *handy* at some future period, but she paid very high prices for their historical interest.

Marshal Lannes did not see as much of the monomania of his wife as did Mr. Toodles. Had he lived long enough, he would doubtless not only have bought a coffin, but would have buried her in it, to cure her of her passion.

The life of Duchess de Montebello was not void of interest. She was the daughter of a nobleman, very beautiful, accomplished, and Marshal Lannes's second wife—was married to him a short time after Napoleon's divorce from Josephine. She had made a deep impression upon him; and so great was the confidence he placed in her talents and unblemished character, that, a short time after his marriage with Marie Louise, he placed her at the head of the Empress's household as the First Lady of Honor; and it is said that Marie Louise never received nor conversed with any great dignitary without the *surveillance* of the Duchess de Montebello, who was ever at her elbow, and prompt to anticipate or rectify the many blunders made by this uninteresting member of the Hapsburg family. She was endowed with wonderful tact and discretion, and was certainly not the least interesting character of the past Empire.

After the downfall of Napoleon, she led a comparatively retired life, devoting herself entirely to the enlargement of her fortune, and to the education of her four sons—two of which have distinguished themselves. One was Minister under Louis Philippe, the other represents the present French Government at some foreign Court. The two others led a very gay life, and were only remarkable for their extravagant habits. One of the latter is now aid-de-camp to the Emperor.

This Palace, or Hotel, as the French call their private city residences, like most of those old aristocratic dwellings, is a fine ancient structure, with wings, situated between a large garden, laid out in the English style, and a court yard, entered by formidable doors, with porter's lodges on either side, fronting the street, excluding the main building from view. These mansions are charming dwellings—regular villas in the heart of this great metropolis—secluded and surrounded by veteran trees and shrubs, where the robins, nightingales, and wild pigeons, build their nests and rear their young.

The exhibition was displayed in the large rooms on the second floor of the centre building, literally crammed with all sorts of old-fashioned furniture and glass cases, covered and filled with old china, worth its weight in silver, already numbered, to be knocked off to the highest bidder, and estimated at 800,000 francs.

Those who are not aware of the number of persons in Paris possessed of the Toodles mania, might think that the thousands of china vases, cups, saucers, plates, and tea-pots, inelegant in their shapes, from the Sévres factory, under Louis XIV, to the time of Napoleon I, and lastly Louis Philippe, would not be worthy of a place on a sideboard; and yet the antique vases, of forms most classic, excavated from the very depths of Herculaneum and Pompeii, would not bring such fabulous prices without a pedigree.

This reminds me of a bottle recently sent to Paris, from Hungary, with a certificate from Marshal Radezsky, the great Austrian general, so dearly beloved by the Lombardians, stating that the bottle was standing on the writing-desk of Emperor Napoleon I, when he (the General) visited the Castle of Fontainbleau, after Napoleon had left it for the last time. It was given to him by the Governor of the Castle; and the bottle is not remarkable in any way, except for having the initials of the Emperor on it.

The owner, who obtained it from Radezsky, offers it for sale at the modest price of 5,000 francs; but all the Napoleonists are not so rich, and consequently the bottle is still on hand. The most remarkable thing is the certificate accompanying it, written by Radezsky, in German, badly expressed, and in a singularly faulty and inelegant style; proving that grammar is not requisite to make a fierce general and a tyrant.

Mademoiselle Rachel, who is now fishing in the muddy waters of the Nile, recently sold her hotel on speculation, with all its valuable furniture, the most of which, the ornaments in particular, had been presented to her as keepsakes. John Bull distinguished himself on that occasion, as he will doubtless do at the sale of the late Duchess de Montebello's collection, proud to be the possessor of a utensil used by Napoleon's chief cook, Lagnipière.

In a country where the press is so circumscribed as it is in France, the subjects of general interest freely discussed are but few. No one dares to comment on the doings of the Government or Court, and still less to caricature them, as the *Charivari* did in by-gone days, and as friend *Punch* does at present. Humorists must, however, find some vent for the overflowings of wit, now spent on fashions, theatres, or some poor notion of little importance in the civilized world.

This accounts for the continued attacks on the *Crinoline,* becoming so formidable in its dimensions, that it is feared the police will soon be obliged to define its circumference, lest it might be used to barricade. Should they reach that point of usefulness, they will undoubtedly be abolished in good society, leaving the votaries of fashion to look like exploded balloons.

In an industrial point of view they should be encouraged, since they increase the price of steel and silks. The general complaint is, that nothing can be made to *puff out enough.* This may serve as a hint to the wicker-work makers, whose day is near at hand. Let them be wise, and contract for all the willows without delay. The basket will be the next phase of this swell fashion.

Ball dresses are trimmed more than ever, and it has really become quite an artistic labor. Very high double flounces of tulle, covered with either black or white laces, are much worn. Above each row of lace the ornaments are varied, sometimes with garlands of flowers or feathers, a *ruche* or quilling of tulle or ribbon, or plait of either gold or silver braid. The short sleeves are worn very large this winter, often finished off with a deep tulle flounce, set in between the tulle puffs.

The change in the shape and size of bonnets is not material. I will here describe a bonnet worn by the Empress to church, on Sunday last, black and pink, the front and crown of pink crape, with a *fauchon* of plaited black velvet in the middle, between the crown in front. The *bavolet,* or cape (worn much smaller than they were last year) was of black velvet; the *tour de tête* was, as usual, of blonde lace, with pink flowers and black velvet leaves. We have also seen the same style of bonnet, of white crape, with a pink or blue *fauchon* of velvet; the latter are much the most dressy, and are strikingly becoming.

Garlands, or wreaths, encircling the whole head, worn about two inches from the forehead, are quite in vogue. A wreath of delicate pink roses, mixed with small tufts of forget-me-nots, worn by Miss R. at a *soirée dansante,* given at our ambassador's, not long since, was a becoming and elegant head-dress. We also remarked at the last Tuilleries ball, a stylish-looking person, who wore a wreath of velvet oak leaves, with tufts of gold and green acorns.

Fur is the most conspicuous part of a lady's dress, since the return of the Russians to their city of predilection. Sable is, of course, the most *recherchée,* and the blacker it is the more costly it becomes, interspersed with only a few gray hairs, to show that it is not colored. Russian squirrel, of a pure gray, unmixed with red tints, is the favorite trimming for young ladies' *casaques;* the latter are still much worn, fitting to the waist. Of course, the Victorine muff and cuffs must correspond.

Vamir, the Empress's perfumer, has a great variety of fans—Louis XV and Louis XVI. The latter are smaller, but equally beautiful, ornamented with the portraits of the most remarkable beauties of that unfortunate reign, and executed with wonderful skill.

It is astonishing that white hair is seen in Paris. Though gray hair is not countenanced, such a phenomenon can only be attributed to the general use of the far-famed *Teinture Anglaise de Desnoues,* rapid in its effect, without coloring the skin, and much used, as well, to dye the eyebrows and whiskers. Rouge is also greatly in vogue, as well as many other cosmetics highly esteemed in the past century. My sentiments with respect to them shall be controlled, as long as the fashion of powdered hair is not revived.

Mademoiselle Rachel's movements are still followed with interest by the French people, notwithstanding her caprices, and the contempt she often manifested for the public. She is considered an irreparable loss to the French stage. According to the latest news, she is now in Upper Egypt, at Esner; her health is much improved.

Miss Meyerbeer is engaged to a Prussian colonel, and the *maestro* has given his only daughter the copyright of the opera of *Robert the Devil,* and of his new opera, *The African,* nearly completed, as a marriage gift. *Robert the Devil* brought Meyerbeer 7,000 francs per evening, and will continue to do so for many years. Miss Meyerbeer belonging to the children of Israel, and the Prussian colonel to the church of the Protestant King Frederick Wilhelm, their marriage cannot take place in Prussia, according to the laws of the *Champaign King.* The couple must therefore seek a more liberal Government to be joined in wedlock, and no doubt Paris will be their choice.

Verger's appeal to the Court of Cassation was rejected, and on the 30th of last month, at a quarter past seven in the morning, he was gently roused from a sound sleep, by the prison chaplain, Abbé Fingon, and the director of the prison, to inform him that the fatal moment was at hand, and that he must prepare for death. He vehemently declared he would not leave his bed to go to the scaffold, and that he would be torn to pieces before he would leave the room. The director ordered him to be carried out; four men took him by force to the room used for the last *preparations,* where he was handed over to the executioner's assistant, to have his hair and shirt collar cut off. The touch of the cold scissors to his neck caused his demon-like angry red face suddenly to become fearfully pale and dejected. The chaplain seized that moment more effectually to renew his exhortations; after a short time, the prisoner rallied enough to beg all those present to pardon his violent behaviour, and then implored the forgiveness of God and man for the odious crime he had committed, after which he sincerely offered his life, as an atonement for his sins. Verger then threw himself on his knees before the chaplain, confessed, and received absolution.

After the lapse of eight or ten minutes, he got up, and thanked all those present, with tears in his eyes, for the many favors they had done him, left the room without resistance, and walked to the scaffold, supported on one side by the executioner, and on the other by the chaplain, who at Verger's request accompanied him to the platform, where he again fell on his knees, and devoutly prayed for his family, for France, for the Church, and lastly for the Emperor. After embracing the crucifix with fervor, he quietly gave himself over to the executioner, and was beheaded at half past seven.

The number of persons attending the execution of the priest was estimated to be eight or ten thousand. We regret to state that many private coaches were standing near the place of execution, some of which were occupied by ladies whose elegant toilet painfully contrasted with the sad drama they went to witness.

For the National Era.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

BOOKS IN PARIS.

Louis Figuier's Book of Facts for 1856—The Hemione.

No one will dare to depreciate the merits of the French in literature, science, and art. Their productions are lasting monuments, and will forever be the admiration of their votaries. Yet the light of that brilliant constellation of French genius, consisting of stars of the first magnitude, has only been beheld by those endowed with a stronger organ of perception than the mass of the people of France possess, who are exceedingly ignorant.

Men of science wrote only for those who devoted themselves to a certain branch of learning, and the rest remained unacquainted with the deductions and practical results. The language of that Freemasonry has been Latin, and it is only since the great Revolution, that the French savans began to write in their own language, and from that period the diffusion of knowledge has been more general. The English were the first who popularized scientific facts, and the happy result which they obtained induced the other European nations to follow suit. The Germans have therein admirably succeeded, and the French also begin to publish books intended for the mass, which will no doubt give a taste for the reading of more serious works than those of fiction. The French, as a nation, do not read extensively. Beyond Paris, the publication and sale of books are very small. Private libraries are not so general and extensive as in the United States, England, or Germany; public libraries take their place, and there we find the students and men of learning.

We hail with pleasure all popular works, and we shall take occasion to give you notice as they appear. As they will be rare, we shall not fatigue your readers too much. To-day, we speak of the work of the distinguished professor and physician, Louis Figuier, entitled "*Lannè Scientifique et Endustrielle*"—a volume containing facts and speculations which occupied the attention of men of science and industry the past year. In this work, Figuier speaks of public hygiene—on the diseases of the grape-vine and silk-worm—on submarine telegraphs—on the improvements in various branches of industry, especially in railroads—and many other subjects of general interest.

Knowing the great interest our farmers feel in acclimating and domesticating new species of animals that may be useful to them, we reproduce a page of Mr. Figuier's book, which treats on the domestication of the hemione:

"The garden of plants has only been a short time in possession of a new guest, worthy of a warm welcome. It is a species of the horse tribe, until now but little known, and seems destined to render great service to man. It is hoped it will be easy to increase their number from the present specimens, and to introduce them into France, when they must inevitably become a very useful auxiliary of the horse.

"Mr. Emile Blanchard, attached to the Museum of Natural History in Paris, has published an instructive article on the Hemione, which we give in extenso:

"'The genus horse comprises, at present, six species—the horse, the ass, the hemione or dzigettaï, the daw, the couagga, and the zebra.

"'Of the six species of the genus horse, only two render valuable services to man—the other four have never been domesticated—though they are very nearly related to each other. Judging from their habits and conformation, it leaves but little doubt as to the possibility of making them equally useful.

"'The first three species of horses, above named, are originally from Asia; the last three belong to Africa, and are to be distinguished by the black stripes that embellish their coat.

"'Buffon and Daubenton entertained the hopes of acclimating the zebra, but they were not realized. The zebra was sometimes tamed at the Cape of Good Hope. According to Mr. Isidor Geoffroy Saint Hillaire, some zebras have been tolerably well broken in Europe, so that their rich owners astonished the public by the rare luxury of driving a span of zebras. It is really to be regretted that the zebra is so very seldom brought to France. It would indeed be a beautiful sight to see brilliant equipages drawn by that rare species of horse, or to be used for the saddle.

"'The *couagga,* inhabiting the table lands of Cafraria, is also susceptible of being tamed. It has been tried at the Cape of Good Hope with success.

"'The *daw,* more recently discovered than the other species of horse, stands between the zebra and couagga in some respects. It lives in the mountainous parts of the south of Africa. Several daws have lived a long time in the menagerie of the Museum of Natural History in Paris. They have had offsprings to the third generation. One of them was used in a cart about the menagerie.

"'It is thus proved that the first species of horses could be acclimated in France, and almost as easily tamed as our domestic horse. The only difficulty in bringing them into general use would be, to get them imported in large numbers.

"'We are indebted to the assiduous exertions of Mr. Isidor Geoffroy Saint Hillaire for our progress with respect to the hemione. The garden of plants in Paris now possesses several specimens of that interesting species, born at the menagerie. The public seems to take great interest in these young animals, and we give, therefore, a more detailed account of this species of horse.

"'The hemione was known to Aristotle and Elius, but it was forgotten for several centuries. The naturalist, Pallas, who lived about the end of the eighteenth century, was the first who carefully described it.

"'The coat of the hemione is short and shiny, and of a light coffee-and cream color on the back and sides. The abdomen is of a whitish color, and the exterior of the legs is striped. The blackish mane commences a little in advance of the ear, and reaches down to the withers, sensibly diminishing in length. The black color continues in a stripe along the back, and contracts suddenly beyond the hips, terminating in a point at the root of the tail. The tail is covered with short hair, and provided with a tassel of black hair at the end. The hemione is a little smaller than the horse, and larger than the ass. The ears are not so long as those of the latter, and resemble those of the horse in shape. The nostrils are shaped like half-moons, the convexities of which are turned outward. On the whole, the hemione is of a pleasing aspect.

"'We are approaching the time when we shall possess a new species of horse. The hemione is qualified to render great services, and will be in many instances preferable to the horse and ass. Its hybrids will have some peculiar qualities; the hemione at the Garden of Plants has been crossed with the ass; at Knowsley, in the menagerie of Lord Derby, it has been crossed with the daw. It is to be regretted that a cross with the horse has not yet been obtained; but from all appearances there will be no difficulty in bringing it about. The fecundity of these hybrids is very remarkable. The male hybrid produced from a hemione and ass, a strong animal, produced with a she ass and with a she hemione. M. Emile Blanchard thinks this is to be ascribed to the greater relationship between the hemione and ass than that which exists between the horse and ass.

"'One of the hemiones of the Garden of Plants was made manageable enough in the course of a few months, that it could be driven at great speed from Versailles to Paris; and another was broken for the saddle without difficulty.

"'The hemione is found in large herds in the north of Guzarate; but they are not easily procured, notwithstanding their great numbers. They are swifter than the horse, and cannot be caught, except in snares and traps.

"'In 1838, one male and two female hemiones were brought to Paris, and it has not been possible to procure any others since then. There are now eleven at the Garden of Plants, born and raised in France.

"'They have not in the least degenerated; on the contrary, the offsprings of the Indian parents surpass them in size and beauty. This may be considered sufficient proof that the hemione can be easily domesticated, and made one of the most useful animals to man.'"

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.—*Auburn, N. Y. March* 3.—The municipal election in this city to-day resulted in the choice of Dr. Lansing Briggs, the Republican candidate for mayor, by 350 majority.

Rochester, N. Y., March 3.—The Democratic candidate for mayor is elected by a large majority, and eight out of the ten aldermen are Democratic.

Utica, N. Y., March 3.—The Republicans have elected A. Hubbell mayor by 300 majority, and all their city ticket, except the marshal.

Troy, N. Y., March 3.—The charter election to-day has resulted in the success of the American party. T. Atkins, American, is elected mayor by a small majority. The Americans have also a majority in the common council.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA BY EMIGRANTS FROM NEW ENGLAND.—A scheme has been under consideration for some time past, looking to the colonization of Virginia by emigrants from the Northern States. A great Northern Emigrant Aid Society has been projected, with a capital from three to four millions of dollars, to be expended in the purchase of lands in Eastern Virginia; the design of the Association being to partition these lands among actual settlers from Europe and the North, on accommodating terms, who will turn their attention to a regeneration of the soil, and to various other industrial pursuits, adapted to the locality and the demands of an accessible market.

In the promotion of this scheme—at the head of which is Mr. Thayer, a gentleman at one time actively engaged in organizing the Kansas Aid Society—two objects are proposed to be attained; the one being the peopling of a considerable portion of the Old Dominion with white labor, and the other a lucrative investment, through the judicious application of that labor to the worn-out lands of the State. There is no doubt whatever that, pecuniarily, the Commonwealth would be largely benefited by an influx of sturdy laborers, who would devote themselves to renovating the soil, to establishing manufactories, to founding towns and villages, and to developing the mineral wealth so profusely scattered over a large portion of the Old Dominion; but whether our neighbors would regard with as favorable an eye the introduction within her borders of a population profoundly impressed with Free Soil sentiments, and therefore devoted to the extinction of Slavery, is a question we should like to see answered by their ablest political economists.

The prejudice against New Englanders of all classes and degrees is very strong in southern Virginia, and even now, the Richmond *Enquirer* is bitterly denouncing as knaves and rogues the pedlars who have been accustomed to travel through the rural districts, disposing of their wares and notions, to the great injury, as the *Enquirer* contends, of the local trade. Perhaps, also, their presence among a slave population may be regarded as promoting that spirit of insubordination which has lately displayed itself so ominously in certain quarters. Nor is this at all to be wondered at, when we consider the increasing efforts made at the North to incite the slaves to escape from their masters, and the numerous emissaries employed by the Abolitionists to encourage the attempt, and to assist in and cover up the traces of their flight.

Still, we cannot see how it is possible to prevent capitalists from making investments in the cheap lands of Virginia, if the proprietors of those lands are willing to dispose of them, nor can any legislative action deprive the new settlers of the rights of citizenship, or the privilege of voting as they think proper. That a large influx of emigrants from New England would create a profound sensation among the owners of slave property throughout the State, we have not the least doubt, and it is very possible that some effort would be made to avert the consequences; but as, under the Federal Constitution, every citizen of the United States has a perfect right to migrate wherever he thinks proper, and at the expiration of a fixed period of time is entitled to enjoy and exercise the same political privileges accorded to those who are natives of the Commonwealth, we do not well see how it would be possible for Virginia to put a stop to this scheme, if the association should determine to carry it into effect.—*Baltimore Patriot, March* 2.

HE DIED AT HIS POST.—A sad but beautiful and touching scene was witnessed at the accident at the Du Page bridge. On the morning after the accident, the slow tolling of a bell was heard. On looking to see whence it came, it was discovered to proceed from the engine, as it lay submerged in the water. The waves, as they foamed and surged over the sunken engine, swayed the bell, which alone with the smoke-pipe, appeared above water, and caused it to give a slow, tolling sound. When the engine was raised from the water, the engineer was found in a standing posture, with his stiff, cold, icy hand firmly grasping the throttle valve, as though amid the thick darkness he had discovered the perilous condition of the train, and had sprang to avert the ruin. But it was too late—the engine and train, with its precious freight of life and property, went down, and during the dreary night the engine bell and the mad rushing waters rang out a solemn requiem for the dead. It is probable, that had not the freight train gone down as it did, the passenger train from Chicago, due two hours later, and loaded with sleeping passengers, would itself have taken the fatal plunge.—*Joliet Democrat.*

"A CRUEL INDISCRETION."—The Toledo *Weekly Messenger* says that Rev. T. Creen, rector of St. Mark's, in Niagara, C. W., was some weeks since suspended for life, for adultery with one of his parishioners. The sentence of Bishop Strachan, of Toronto, was that he should be suspended, but should keep his title of rector till January following, and then retire from the episcopacy on a life pension of $400 a year! The rector's assistant, Rev. Mr. Reynolds, refused to be present at Mr. Creen's service of communion, and gave as a reason for it the adulterous and drunken life of the rector. The scandal thus became public. Bishop Strachan had to take notice of it—a trial was ordered—Creen was ungowned, yet pensioned, while poor Reynolds was adjudged guilty of "a cruel indiscretion," as the Bishop expresses it, and has been indefinitely suspended from clerical duty!

A NOBLE DEED.—Some months since, a poor German neighbor of Gerrit Smith was charged with murder. A singular combination of unfavorable circumstances induced a general belief that he was guilty, and the public excitement against him was very strong. Mr. Smith visited the suspected man in the jail, and became convinced that he was innocent. In the face of a hostile public sentiment, he volunteered his services as counsel for the German, spent nearly a thousand dollars from his own purse in collecting evidence, and argued his case before the jury. By his untiring exertions, the very dark cloud of unfavorable circumstances was cleared up, and the innocence of his client made manifest, not only to the court and jury, but to the public. Mr. Smith, with characteristic beneficence, crowned his magnanimity by giving to the poor German a small farm and five hundred dollars in money. Nobleness like this is its own praise and its own reward. We wish that it was less rare.

VOTE OF CALIFORNIA.—The late California journals contain the official returns of the vote cast in California for Presidential Electors at the recent election. The total vote of the State is 110,348, including 125 scattering. The Presidential ticket ran, on the whole, considerably ahead of the State ticket. Thus, while the total vote for Mr. Buchanan stood 53,365, for Mr. Fillmore 36,165, and for Mr. Fremont 20,693, the total vote for Congressmen was as follows: C. L. Scott, (Dem.,) 50,813; J. C. McKibben, (Dem.,) 50,896; B. C. Whitman, (Am.,) 36,058; A. B. Dibble, (Am.,) 35,376; I. P. Rankin, (Rep.,) 21,975; J. M. Turner, (Rep.,) 21,164.

Are your lungs diseased, and would you be cured, do not allow yourself to be experimented upon, but try a remedy that has relieved thousands, and proved itself worthy of your confidence. We refer to Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry.

TO NERVOUS SUFFERERS.

A retired clergyman, restored to health in a few days, after many years of great nervous suffering, is anxious to make known the means of cure. Will send (free) the prescription used. Direct to the Rev. JOHN M. DAGNALL, 59 Fulton street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 530

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1857.

THE NEW CABINET.

The following gentlemen were nominated on the 6th instant by the President, and were forthwith unanimously confirmed by the Senate, for the several Executive Departments of the Government:

Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State.
Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury.
Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior.
John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War.
Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy.
Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster General.
Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney General.

Back Numbers.—We can still supply back numbers of the *Era* from January 1st, being the commencement of the volume, and also of the admirable story in course of publication, entitled "The Autobiography of a New England Girl," by Martha Russell.

Persons ordering the *Era*, and wishing the back numbers, will please state the fact.

Explanatory.—Three Opinions in the Dred Scott Case were read in the Supreme Court, Friday, 6th, inst.—one, by Chief Justice Taney, another, by Judge Nelson, the third, by Judge Catron. The next day, dissenting Opinions were read by Judges McLean and Curtis; then according to the *Intelligencer*, separate Opinions were read by Judges Daniel, Grier, Campbell, and Wayne; but this must be a mistake. Separate opinions were prepared by those gentlemen, and announced, but not read. Some of them, it is understood, are very voluminous, if not luminous. All the opinions, when printed, will form quite a large volume.

The majority of the Court—Justices Taney, Grier, Wayne, Daniel, and Campbell—concurred on the point of jurisdiction, the point decided. Judge Nelson abstained from the expression of any views on the constitutional questions discussed by Judge Taney. Judge Catron differed from the Chief Justice in relation to the power of Congress over the Territories, holding that it is derived from the 3d section of the 4th article of the Constitution; but he did not refer to the question of citizenship or to the question in what light slaves are regarded by the Constitution. Judges McLean and Curtis differed on all the points brought into discussion, from the Chief Justice. How far the remaining Judges, Grier, Campbell, Wayne, and Daniel, agreed or differed, the Public will not know until the Opinions of those gentlemen shall have been published.

Another matter: the *decision* of the Court will necessarily be the same, *printed*, as it was *delivered*—but the Opinions *expressed*, are held subject to revision, so that when published, they may not appear exactly as they did, when uttered. This should be borne in mind.

It is to be regretted that the Press had not some accurate stenographer present, to report the opinions and arguments just as they were delivered.

THE SUPREME COURT AND SLAVERY—THE DUTY BEFORE US.

We have taken great pains to put our readers in possession of the views of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions concerning Slavery, which have agitated the country so long. Although the opinions delivered ought not to be received as decisions, still they show clearly what would be the action of the majority of the Court, were these questions before it properly for its adjudication.

Those conservative people of the free States who have hitherto reposed their trust in the impartiality of the Court, and its supposed exemption from political bias, will feel their confidence rudely shaken. They will now perhaps acknowledge that the men who pointed to the sectional character of the Bench, and more than insinuated that it was the bulwark of Slavery, were not so uncharitable as they thought. When they learn that Chief Justice Taney and a majority of the Court concur in opinion on all the questions relating to Slavery, with the Disunion and Filibustering School of Pro-Slavery men—with Messrs. Calhoun, Atchison, Wise, Mason, Quitman, and Davis—that they ignore or controvert the doctrines entertained by Jefferson, Madison, Clay, and Webster, by the framers of the Federal Constitution, and hitherto by a majority of the most distinguished jurists of the slaveholding States—that they sanction a policy which is a gross innovation of that initiated by the Congress of the Confederation, expanded by the first Congress under the Constitution, and carried out to a greater or less extent by the action of the Federal Government, down to the organization of Oregon as a Territory in 1848, they will be apt to feel both indignant and alarmed. They will soon have an opportunity to read the opinions of the Court in detail. Meantime we call their attention to the abstract we present in the following article. They will there find that Chief Justice Taney and a majority of the Court hold that the Constitution recognises slaves as property; that such property differs in no respect from any other property; that the slaveholder may carry his slaves into any Territory of the United States—Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Minnesota—hold them there, use them there as property; that there is no power in the Territorial Government, and none in Congress, to interfere with his rights; but that, holding and using his human chattels there under the guaranties of the Federal Constitution, it is the duty of the Courts of the United States to protect and enforce his rights, should any obstruction be attempted to their exercise; that the Wilmot Proviso is unconstitutional, but not more so than what is called Squatter Sovereignty, or the right of the People to govern themselves; that the policy of General Cass and the Northern Democratic Party, is just as repugnant to the Constitution as that of Thomas Jefferson and his Democratic followers!

Remember, in this connection, that Mr. Buchanan, our new President, by his Inaugural, stands committed in advance to these opinions of the Court.

What is to be done? It is useless to rail and denounce; the crisis calls for action. The Slaveholding Oligarchy have the Administration, the majority in the Senate and in the House, and the Supreme Court. What is left to the People? The *Ballot Box!* If they would prevent the *theory* of this Oligarchy—that *Slavery is the fundamental law of this Union*—from becoming a *fact*, they must lay aside all differences of opinion on other questions, and rally, as one man, at the ballot-box, for the overthrow of the Oligarchy and its allies in the free States. They must make their fifty-four majority in the House a majority for Freedom—their four majority in the Senate a majority for Freedom. They must by strict attention to the municipal and local elections secure ascendency in every free State, preparatory to national ascendency at Washington in 1860. This they can do; this they must do, or make up their minds to be the political slaves of the slaveholders, and to see this American Union dedicated to the spread and support of Slaveholding Institutions, as its great mission.

DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT IN THE CASE OF DRED SCOTT.

This important case, involving questions in respect to the citizenship of colored persons, and the constitutionality of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the Missouri Compromise, was decided in the Supreme Court, Friday, March 5th. Chief Justice Taney read an elaborate opinion, embracing the views of the majority of the Court—Justices Taney, Wayne, Daniel, Grier, and Campbell. Judge Catron delivered an opinion of his own, differing somewhat from that of the majority in regard to the power of the Federal Government over Territories; Judge Nelson also submitted his views, in which the question concerning the validity of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise was evaded. The former agreed with the majority in regard to the alleged unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise; and the latter held that every State has an absolute right to determine the *status* of its own inhabitants; that, according to the laws of Missouri, as declared by its Supreme Court, a slave in that State, having been carried to a free State, and having then been returned to Missouri, is still a slave; and, therefore, Dred Scott, having been carried back to Missouri, after a temporary sojourn in Illinois, was not discharged from his servile condition.

The following day, very able opinions were submitted by Judges McLean and Curtis, dissenting from the opinions of a majority of the Court, and sustaining views, which, until lately, have prevailed throughout the country, and influenced the legislation of Congress.

The Case.

The following brief statement, quoted from the admirable argument of Montgomery Blair, counsel for the plaintiff, will put our readers in possession of the facts of the case:

"This is a suit brought to try the right to freedom of the plaintiff and his wife Harriet, and his children Eliza and Lizzie. It was originally brought against the administratrix of Dr. Emerson, in the Circuit Court of St. Louis county, Missouri, where the plaintiff recovered judgment; but on appeal to the Supreme Court of the State, a majority of that court, at the March term of 1852, reversed the judgment; when the cause was remanded, it was dismissed, and this suit, which is an action of trespass for false imprisonment, was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Missouri, by the plaintiff, as a 'citizen' of that State, against the defendant, a 'citizen of the State of New York, who had purchased him and his family since the commencement of the suit in the State court.

"The defendant denied, by plea in abatement, the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of the United States, on the ground that the plaintiff 'is a negro of African descent, his ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country and sold as slaves,' and therefore the plaintiff 'is not a citizen of the State of Missouri.' To this plea the plaintiff demurred, and the court sustained the demurrer.

"Thereupon, the defendant pleaded over, and justified the trespass on the ground that the plaintiff and his family were his negro slaves; and a statement of facts, agreed to by both parties, was read in evidence, as follows: 'In the year 1834, the plaintiff was a negro slave belonging to Dr. Emerson, who was a surgeon in the army of the United States. In that year (1834) said Dr. Emerson took the plaintiff from the State of Missouri to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and held him there as a slave until the month of April, 1836. At the time last mentioned, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff from said military post at Rock Island to the military post at Fort Snelling, situated on the west bank of the Mississippi river, in the territory known as Upper Louisiana, acquired by the United States of France, and situate north of the latitude of 36° 30′ north, and north of the State of Missouri. Said Dr. Emerson held the plaintiff in slavery at said Fort Snelling, until the year 1838.

"'In the year 1835, Harriet (who is named in the second count of the plaintiff's declaration) was the slave of Major Taliaferro, who belonged to the army of the United States. In that year, (1835,) said Major Taliaferro took said Harriet to said Fort Snelling, a military post situated as hereinbefore stated, and kept her there as a slave until the year 1836, and then sold and delivered her as a slave at Fort Snelling unto said Dr. Emerson, hereinbefore named; and said Dr. Emerson held said Harriet in slavery at said Fort Snelling until the year 1838.

"'In the year 1836, the plaintiff and said Harriet, at said Fort Snelling, with the consent of said Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be their master and owner, intermarried, and took each other for husband and wife. Eliza and Lizzie, named in the third count of the plaintiff's declaration, are the fruit of that marriage. Eliza is about fourteen years old, and was born on board the steamboat Gipsey, north of the north line of the State of Missouri, and upon the Mississippi river; Lizzie is about seven years old, and was born in the State of Missouri, at the military post called Jefferson Barracks.

"'In the year 1838, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff and said Harriet, and their said daughter Eliza, from said Fort Snelling to the State of Missouri, where they have ever since resided.

"'Before the commencement of this suit, said Dr. Emerson sold and conveyed the plaintiff, said Harriet, Eliza and Lizzie, to the defendant, as slaves, and the defendant claimed to hold each of them as slaves.

"'At the times mentioned in the plaintiff's declaration, the defendant, claiming to be owner as aforesaid, laid his hands upon said plaintiff, Harriet, Eliza, and Lizzie, and imprisoned them; doing in this respect, however, no more than what he might lawfully do if they were of right his slaves at such times.'

"On these facts, the court instructed the jury to find for the defendants. The plaintiff excepted to the instructions. The jury found a verdict for defendant, and judgment was rendered accordingly, on the 16th May, 1854. On the 16th a writ of error issued, and the case was brought up to the December term of 1854 of this court."

The Decision.

Friday, March 6th, 1857, Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the Court, "reversing the judgment of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Missouri, for the want of jurisdiction in that Court, and remanding the cause, with directions to dismiss the case, for want of jurisdiction in that Court."

In this opinion, we learn, Justices Wayne, Daniel, Grier, and Campbell, concurred, constituting, with the Chief Justice, the majority of the Court.

Justices McLean, Catron, Nelson, and Curtis, concurred in the opinion that the Circuit Court had jurisdiction of the case.

One Point Alone Decided—Misconception Corrected.

The statement has already gone out to the Public, that the Supreme Court decided the questions concerning the validity of the Ordinance of 1787, the Power of Congress over Territory, the Powers of Territorial Governments, and the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise; but this is a grave misconception. The single decision made by the Court was, that the Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of the case, and it therefore reversed the judgment of said Court, remanded the cause, and directed the Circuit Court to dismiss the case. This decision, according to its own rules, precluded it from deciding any question arising upon the merits of the case, inasmuch as it refused to entertain it. If I thought, said Justice Catron, that this Court was without jurisdiction of this case, I should go no further, as I hold that a Court having no power to decide the case, or to deal with it in any way further than to docket and dismiss it, has no right to discuss the merits, as no jurisdiction exists to give a judgment on them. But, as I hold that there is jurisdiction to decide the merits, I will proceed to examine the case.

Justice Curtis took a similar view, and announced, if we understood him correctly, that he should not hold the opinions expressed by the Court, on the issues arising out of the case and its merits, as decisions upon them. And such, we understand, is the position of Justice McLean.

It follows, that the editorial statement in the *National Intelligencer*, below, assuming that several important points have been decided, is entirely erroneous.

"The opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Scott vs. Sanford*, was delivered yesterday by Chief Justice Taney. It was a full and elaborate statement of the views of the Court, and decides the following all-important points:

"1. Negroes, whether slaves or free—that is, men of the African race—are not citizens of the United States by the Constitution.

"2. The Ordinance of 1787 had no independent constitutional force or legal effect subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution, and could not operate of itself to confer freedom or citizenship within the Northwest Territory on negroes not citizens by the Constitution.

"3 The provision of the act of 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise, in so far as it undertook to exclude negro Slavery from and communicate freedom and citizenship to negroes in the northern part of the Louisiana cession, was a legislative act exceeding the powers of Congress, and void and of no legal effect to that end.

"In deciding these main points, the Supreme Court determined also the following incidental points:

"1. The expression 'territory and other property' of the Union in the Constitution applies in *terms* only to such territory as the Union possessed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

"2. The rights of citizens of the United States emigrating into any Federal territory, and the power of the Federal Government there, depend on the general provisions of the Constitution, which define in this, as in all other respects, the powers of Congress.

"3. As Congress does not possess power itself to make enactments relative to the persons or property of citizens of the United States in Federal territory, other than such as the Constitution confers, so it cannot constitutionally delegate any such powers to a Territorial Government organized by it under the Constitution.

"4. The legal condition of a slave in the State of Missouri is not affected by the temporary sojourn of such slave in any other State, but on his return his condition still depends on the laws of Missouri."

The simple question *decided*, was a *question of jurisdiction*: the elaborate argument read by Chief Justice Taney, merely presented the opinions of the majority of the Court on questions not before the Court for decision, and the decision of which was precluded by the declaration of a want of jurisdiction in the premises. So far, then, as the points named are concerned, they are still undecided by Judicial Authority, the individual opinions of Justice Taney having no more authority in settling what is Law than the individual opinions of Justice McLean.

The decision of the Court reversing the judgment of the Circuit Court for want of jurisdiction is obligatory, because a majority of the Justices concurred in it—but, how many concurred in all the opinions expressed by the Chief Justice, or in the reasoning by which he attempted to support them, does not appear. Judge Grier concurred only in some of the positions taken: Judge Catron, as we shall see, differed on important points: the other Judges of the majority, we learn, have prepared separate opinions. The *Intelligencer*, therefore, is again in error, in saying, without qualification, that "the conclusions stated by the Chief Justice were concurred in by six Justices of the Court."

With these preliminary explanations, to which we solicit the attention of our brethren of the Press, so that they may not give undue importance and weight to mere expressions of opinion by members of the Supreme Court, we proceed to speak more particularly of the views submitted by them.

Chief Justice Taney.

1. In regard to citizenship, the Chief Justice held that negroes and descendants of negroes in this country were not citizens of the Political community, associated under the Articles of Confederation or under the Constitution at the time of its formation. That "unhappy race" was universally regarded throughout the civilized world, as property, subject to be bought and sold, as merchandise, not constituting an integral element of society. It was in view of this prevailing sentiment, that the Congress that promulgated the Declaration of Independence announced, "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," &c.—a declaration not designed to apply to that "unhappy race" so universally degraded. The same sentiment prevailed when the Constitution was formed, the phraseolgy in the Preamble of which, "we, the people of the United States," did not include a class of persons universally recognised as subjects of property. True, there were a few free persons belonging to the race, but not enough to change the character by which it was universally recognised. The language of the Declaration and of the Constitution of the United States must be interpreted in the light of the Public Opinion of that day, the framers of both instruments sharing themselves in that Opinion.

This is a brief statement of the reasoning (?) by which the learned Judge reached the conclusion that negroes and their descendants are not citizens of the Political Community, known as "the United States."

As the Chief Justice soon made it plain to every listener that, in his opinion, Congress has no power over the subject of Slavery in the Territories, and that slaves are regarded as property by the Federal Constitution, we were not surprised that, in speaking of slaves, he never referred to them in the decorous language of the Constitution, but always characterized them broadly, as property, subjects of merchandise. This position being taken, as if it had never been contested, and was not a question for argument, and being constantly reiterated in every form of phraseology, the effect upon the minds of those not careful to scrutinize mere assumptions, must have been to bring them to the stand-point of the Judge, and thereby constrain them to concurrence in the views then naturally arising.

2. There being a foregone conclusion against the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in Territories, it became necessary to meet the argument founded upon the passage of the Ordinance of 1787. The States, under the Articles of Confederation, were severally sovereign and independent, associated rather by a League, than by a Common Government. They were represented as States alone in Congress. Virginia owned the Northwest Territory, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses growing out of the war of the Revolution, ceded sovereignty and proprietorship to the United States. All the rights she had, vested in the States in Congress assembled, and as she had the right to prohibit Slavery in said Territory, that right was transferred with the rest. The States, in their sovereign capacity, passed the Ordinance of 1787, and it was valid until the adoption of the new Constitution and the advent of the new Government. The framers of the new Constitution, with express reference to this Territory, inserted a provison enabling Congress to provide all needful rules and regulations for the disposition of the territory of the United States or other property. This provision applied alone to the Northwest Territory, does not apply to any other since acquired, and cannot be construed into a grant of power to Congress to legislate in any other. Besides, the grant was limited to such regulations as might be necessary to the disposition of the lands of the territory in such a way as to carry out the original purpose of the cession. Some government was *necessary*, and as the Ordinance had been established by the Sovereign States in their Sovereign capacity, the first Congress, containing Representatives from those States, simply recognised the Ordinance.

This, as nearly as we can give it, was the substance of the statement of the Chief Justice on this point. The practical inference was, that the action of Congress was merely exceptional, and cannot be quoted as a precedent for a similar exercise of power in any other case.

3. Whatever power Congress has to acquire Territory, or to provide it temporary government, was incident to the power expressly granted in the Constitution to admit new States. It cannot acquire Territory for the purpose of governing it, as a colony, or a province—the purpose is, and must be, to form it into a State, and only such legislation is authorized as is necessary to that end.

It may govern through a council, or by authorizing the People to govern themselves—but it is not absolute, nor can it confer absolute power. It cannot create an establishment of religion, pass laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances—nor can violate the rights of property. The citizen, the Constitution, the Government, go into the Territory together—the citizen, with all his rights of person and property, the Constitution, spreading its guaranties over them, the Federal Government, bound to enforce them for their protection.

The right of property in slaves is equally secured by the Constitution with other property rights. No matter what it may be considered by the Law of Nations, that Law cannot come between the citizen holding slaves, and the Federal Constitution, which recognises and guaranties them as property. And if the Federal Government is restrained from legislating so as to violate it, much more any Territorial Government emanating from its will. Until the Territory becomes a State, the right of property in slaves therein cannot be interfered with.

4. It follows that the law of Congress prohibiting Slavery north of 36° 30′, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise, was null and void, because it transcended the powers of Congress, and was a violation of the rights of property.

Remarks.

We need hardly say that the opinions of Chief Justice Taney sanction all the dogmas put forth at any time by the most extreme advocates of Slavery. They recognise Slavery as supreme, Freedom as subordinate—Slavery as a fundamental Law of the Union—Property in Man as a fundamental Idea of the Constitution.

They deny the Power of Congress, and they deny the power of any Territorial Government to interfere with the right to hold slaves in a Tertory, while they assert the duty of the Federal Government to interpose against any obstruction sought to be thrown in the way of its exercise.

Thank God, these Opinions are not yet Law, and let us hope, for the honor, and peace, and well-being of the Country, that they may never become Law. As it is, their utterance by the Chief Justice, with the endorsement, it is believed, of a majority of the Bench, has given a blow to the reputation of the Court, from which it cannot recover so long as it shall remain as now constituted. The legal mind of the country will not assent to novel and monstrous doctrines, unsustained by argument or authority; and the People will revolt at views repugnant to Humanity and the great principles of Christian civilization.

Judge Nelson.

Judge Nelson next read a paper, in which he discussed the question, whether Dred Scott was exempt from Slavery in Missouri, after having been returned from Illinois, whither he had been carried by his master. He argued the negative, on the ground that a State has the right to determine for itself the *status* of its inhabitants, and is not bound to recognise any foreign jurisdiction any further than it pleases. Under the legislation of Illinois, Dred Scott, sojourning in that State, might become free—but, if returned to Missouri, the servile condition might again attach to him, without detriment to the rights of Illinois—Missouri was not bound within her limits to give force to the Laws of Illinois operating on his *status*. Such was the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and that decision was binding.

The questions relating to the Ordinance of 1787, the Power of Congress over Territory, and the Missouri Compromise, were not discussed by the Judge, and no opinion was expressed concerning them. So far as he, a Judge from the State of New York, was concerned, the views on those subjects which prevail in the free States, and which have determined to a great extent the legislation of the country since 1787, was left without a word in exposition or support.

Judge Catron.

Judge Catron followed with an Opinion, in which he announced his entire concurrence with Judge Nelson in relation to the particular point discussed by him.

He then examined the question, Did Dred Scott, his wife and child, acquire their freedom by sojourn in the territory north of 36° 30′, in virtue of the Missouri Compromise? He argued the negative, discussing in the course of his argument the whole question of the power of Congress over Territory. He held that the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery, was within the power of the States enacting it—that, by the Federal Constitution, it became binding on the new Government, like the other engagements of the Confederation—that the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution, granting power to Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting territory, &c., did not apply alone to the territory northwest of the Ohio, but invests Congress with power to govern the Territories of the United States. It is due to myself, he remarked, to say that it is asking much of a judge, who has for nearly twenty years been exercising jurisdiction, from the Western Missouri line to the Rocky Mountains, and, on this understanding of the Constitution, inflicting the extreme penalty of death for crimes committed where the direct legislation of Congress was the only rule, to agree that he had been all the while acting in mistake, and as an usurper.

This remark doubtless was suggested by the novel assumption of Chief Justice Taney, that the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution had no application to any other than the Northwest Territory.

The Judge proceeded to say that the only question then was, as to the limit of the power to govern Territories. The Ordinance restrained it in relation to the Northwest Territory, so that Congress could not force Slavery therein. The deeds of cession of North Carolina and Georgia, in 1790 and 1802, providing against the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories ceded by them, restrained Congress from attempting to force Slavery out of them. The Treaty of 1803 with France, whereby we acquired Louisiana Territory, binding the United States to protect the liberty, property, and religion of the inhabitants—some of their most valuable property being slaves—limited the power of Congress, precluding it from the right to abolish Slavery anywhere in said Territory. For this reason, the act of Congress prohibiting Slavery in that part of the Territory lying north of 36° 30′ was in violation of treaty obligation, and therefore null and void. But, not confining himself to this view, he went on to argue that, by the Constitution, the slaveholder has the right to carry his slaves into any Territory of the United States, and to be protected therein. He sums up as follows:

My opinion is that the third article of the treaty of 1803, ceding Louisiana to the United States, stands protected by the Constitution, and cannot be repealed by Congress.

And, secondly, that the act of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, violates the most leading feature of the Constitution—a feature on which the Union depends, and which secures to the respective States and their citizens an entire equality of rights, privileges, and immunities.

For these reasons, I hold the compromise act to have been void; and, consequently, that the plaintiff, Scott, can claim no benefit under it.

Justices McLean and Curtis.

The next day, (Saturday,) dissenting opinions were read by Justices McLean and Curtis, the only two members of the Bench now maintaining the Law of Freedom. As judicial expositions of the Principles of the Constitution, of the Law of Nations, and the Common Law, bearing upon Human Rights, they stand unrivalled. On the subject of citizenship, particularly, Judge Curtis left nothing to be said. The misconceptions and mis-statements of Chief Justice Taney became manifest in the light of the historical facts he presented. We shall not attempt even a synopsis of his Opinion, as we heard only the part relating to citizenship. We were more fortunate in regard to Judge McLean, whose argument, it seemed to us, furnished a complete reply to the elaborate opinion of the Chief Justice.

He discussed the question under several heads.

1. The locality of Slavery as held in the Supreme Court, and in the Courts of the States.

Under this head, by a reference to the civil law, he showed that throughout Europe Slavery was limited to the locality where it was established by law; and that without an express compact, one nation would not deliver up an absconding slave to the citizen of another country.

He also showed that, by decision in the case of Prigg *vs.* the State of Pennsylvania, the Court held that Slavery was local, and could exist only by virtue of the local law. That if the Constitution had not required the rendition of fugitives from labor, every State might have manumitted every slave that entered a non-slaveholding State with impunity, as there was no principle in the law of nations which required the return of the slave.

2. The relation which the Federal Government bears to Slavery in the States.

Under this head he showed that Slavery was local, and under the control of State sovereignty, that the Federal Government had no action over it, except in regard to a surrender of fugitives from service or labor. That slaves were spoken of in the Constitution as persons, and not as property. That Congress could not regulate the slave trade among the States, and that the continuance of the slave trade twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution, was not a general measure, but in favor of such States as should think proper to encourage it.

And he referred to the remark of Mr. Madison, who was desirous that no word should be used in the Constitution which indicated there could be property in man.

3. The power of Congress to establish Territorial Governments, and to prohibit the introduction of Slavery therein.

Under this head he showed, by the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution, that the necessity of a power to establish temporary Government, as initiatory to the establishment of State Governments, and to dispose of the public lands, was felt and acknowledged; that the sale of these lands was looked to for the payment of the Revolutionary debt. And that ample provision was made to establish Territorial Governments by the 3d section of the 4th article of the Constitution, which gave Congress power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States. That for sixty years this power was universally admitted by all Courts, Federal and State, and by all statesmen. And he vindicated and maintained the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of the Atlantic Insurance Co. *vs.* Center, 1 Peters, 511.

4. Under this head he discussed the effect of taking slaves into a free State or Territory, and so holding them, where Slavery is prohibited.

He assented to the doctrine clearly announced in the case of Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania, that Slavery could only exist in a State where it was established by law; and, consequently, if a slave be taken where it is not authorized, the master could not coerce the slave. And that where Slavery was prohibited, in Illinois and north of Missouri, if a slave were taken there by his master, and remained there in his service, he was free, under the decisions of the Supreme Court, and by numerous decisions by the Supreme Courts of the Southern States. These were cited largely, and relied on, as fully sustaining the ground of freedom, especially the decisions of the Supreme Court of Missouri. That for twenty-eight years the course of decision in that Court was uniformly in favor of the slave, until the case of Dred Scott came before it.

5. Whether the return of a slave, under the control of his master, after being entitled to his freedom, reduces him to his former condition.

Under this head he examined the decision of Lord Stowell, in the case of Grace, and numerous authorities of the slave States, all of which, except a few recent cases, hold that the return of the slave did not cause his former status to attach. This was uniformly the course of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Missouri for twenty-eight years, until it was changed against Dred Scott, avowedly by the majority of the Court, to check the "fell spirit of Anti-Slavery" in the free States.

In England, a slave could not be coerced by his master, although there was no express prohibition against Slavery; but it is not authorized. And he alleged, from the facts agreed to, that the return of Dred Scott was not voluntary, as the fact admitted was, "that he was removed by his master from Fort Snelling to Missouri," which shows that the slaves acted under the coercion of their masters, and not under their own volition.

6. Are the decisions of the Supreme Court of Missouri, on the questions before the Court, binding, within the rule adopted?

Under this head he showed that the Missouri Court refused to recognise the act of Congress or the Constitution of Illinois, under both of which Dred Scott claimed his freedom. That this being done, there was no case before the Court, or it was a case which had but one side. And he argued that such a case may not be followed by the Supreme Court. And he referred to a late decision of the Supreme Court, fully sustaining his refusal to follow the decision in the case of Dred Scott.

Both Justices, McLean and Curtis, took the position that, as the Court had refused to entertain jurisdiction of the case, its opinions on the questions arising on its merits were not decisive; that those questions still remain open for adjudication; that they would not therefore consider them settled.

ADMISSION OF NEW STATES—MINNESOTA BILL—SENATORIAL EQUILIBRIUM.

The Slaveholding Class is the only Class recognised in the Slave States as possessing political power. It controls their legislation and social institutions. Governors, Legislators, and Judges, are chosen from its ranks. The Senators and Representatives in Congress, the Judges on the Supreme Bench, the members of the Federal Administration, coming from the Slave States, belong to that Class, and are the exponents of its opinions and policy. There may be a few exceptions, only enough, however, to confirm the truth of the general proposition.

An educated and wealthy Class; addicted to politics; trained to habits of command; ambitious; with a Peculiar Interest to care for, at once the source of power and weakness, always knitting them together as a solid phalanx, where its safety or aggrandizement is concerned; wielding the whole Federal power of the Slave States—it is no wonder that it should have obtained so controlling an influence over the Federal Government.

In a hopeless minority in the House of Representatives, it has labored long and successfully, through party antagonisms in the free States, to divide the majority, and strengthen itself by an alliance with one section of it. But its great object has been, to maintain what it styles an equilibrium in the Senate—a numerical equality between free State and slave State Senators, so as to secure the power of an absolute veto on all legislation.

It was in furtherance of this policy, as well as to extend the field of slave-labor staples, that Texas was annexed to the Union, and that subsequently territory was wrested from Mexico, out of which, it was supposed, might be carved a number of slave States to counterbalance those to be formed from the Northwest Territory, dedicated to Freedom. The scheme was shrewdly conceived—four slave States in Texas, four in the Territory acquired from Mexico! No need, then, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—prospective equilibrium was secured!

Unfortunately for the success of the scheme, the discovery of the gold mines of California, the sudden rush of free population to the Territory, and the independent organization of a free State Government, followed in rapid succession. Was it surprising that the Slaveholding Class fought with so much desperation against a movement that effectually baffled its cherished policy—that the country was convulsed by the struggle—that the extreme men of the South seemed almost ready to leap upon the perils of Disunion?

But, California was admitted as a free State—Senatorial equilibrium was lost—the free States, already assured of an increasing majority in the House, now had the control of the Senate. It was *then* that Mr. Calhoun, looking over the broad domain of Freedom, the nursery of free States, destined slowly, but inevitably to augment indefinitely in the Senate, the majority over the members of the Slaveholding Oligarchy, began to talk of the necessity of a dual Executive, or some new device to hold in check the power of the Free States. But, a more feasible plan presented itself, after his decease, to his disciples—that was, the abrogation of the Compact securing the domain of Freedom against Slavery, and the forcible appropriation of portions of it, lying along the borders of Missouri. This accomplished, with Kansas in the Union as a Slave State, once more the Oligarchy would rejoice in Senatorial equilibrium, not again to be disturbed. With Kansas in the Union, and the veto power again in their hands, the Gadsden Purchase, Utah, Texas, Central America, Sonora, must be looked to, for new Slave States, to keep pace with the Free States already in process of formation in the rest of the northwest territory.

Need we wonder at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—the monstrous acts of the Border Ruffians—the Slave acts of the bogus Legislature—the gross violation of the rights of the settlers—the burnings, assassinations, massacres, civil war—the irruption of Slavery propagandists from Georgia and South Carolina—and the hot excitement which swept over the whole country? The question of Senatorial Equilibrium, between the Oligarchy and the People, *was at the bottom of it.* For a season, the struggle seems to be suspended. Some suppose, without reason, that it is closed, and Kansas is to be a free State. It is merely suspended, to be again renewed, perhaps with more fearful accompaniments than ever. Indications of coming violence already reach us from the Territory, and the first call made upon the new Administration may be, to decide between Gov. Geary and the spurious Legislature, which seems determined to crush out the spirit of Freedom in the Territory, even at the cost of Law and Order.

But, while this contest is yet undecided, the People have quietly gained what will prove as important in its results on Senatorial equilibrium, as was the admission of California. *The passage of the bill enabling the People of Minnesota to form a State Constitution*, for admission into the Union, we regard as the most important measure of this Congress. We had looked forward to the report of it with great anxiety, fearing that amidst the hurry of business and from other causes, not necessary to name, it would be thrown over till another Congress.

As the question whether aliens should be permitted to vote in a Territory, in the election of delegates to form a State Constitution, was needlessly connected with the measure, and the action of some of the members may be used by the hacks of party, for sinister purposes, we shall give a plain statement of the progress of the bill from the day it was reported in the House, till the day it was passed in the Senate of the United States. Let it be borne in mind that it was the great measure of this Congress, so far as the rights of the Free States and the claims of the Oligarchy are concerned; that the loss of the bill would have complicated the issues between them at the next Congress, given the Oligarchy the vantage ground, and a good prospect of restoring what they call equilibrium in the Senate, by dragging in Kansas as a Slave State, first of all; and that its passage puts an effectual quietus upon the absurd and dangerous policy of bringing in slave and free States *pari passu*—a policy which would prove a perpetual source of bitterness, heart-burnings, and discord.

The Record.

January 31, 1857, Mr. Grow, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill "to authorize the People of the Territory of Minnesota to form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States." It provided as follows:

"That on the first Monday in June next, the legal voters in each representative district then existing within the limits of the proposed State are authorized to elect two delegates for each Representative to which said district may be entitled according to the apportionment for Representatives to the Territorial Legislature, which election for delegates shall be held and conducted, and the returns made in all respects in conformity with the laws of said Territory regulating the election of representatives; and the delegates so elected shall assemble at the Capitol of said Territory on the second Monday in July next, and first determine, by a vote, whether it is the wish of the people of the proposed State to be admitted into the Union at that time; and if so, shall proceed to form a Constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a State Government, in conformity with the Federal Constitution, subject to the approval and ratification of the people of the proposed State."

The qualifications of electors being already defined in the Territory, the bill wisely, we think, avoided all questions concerning the extent of the right of suffrage, by authorizing "the *legal voters* in each representative district" to vote for delegates to the Convention.

As but two days were allowed for Territorial business, and a vast amount of it was to be attended to, Mr. Grow moved the previous question, announcing, however, that he would withdraw it, for the purpose of explaining the provisions of the bill, but not for discussion. Various questions were propounded; some, obviously with a view to provoke discussion; and it was evident that, had he withdrawn his demand for the previous question, the day would be consumed in debate. Some of the Republican members, not Know Nothings, who attach vital importance to the Principle of restricting the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, were anxious for the adoption of a corresponding amendment, and were confident that it might be moved and carried without endangering the bill; and, when the majority of the Republican members, convinced that to open the door for amendments was to hazard the bill, voted to sustain the previous question, the former recorded their votes in the negative, on the passage of the bill itself—the vote on which stands as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Aiken, Albright, Allen, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Benson, Billinghurst, Bliss, Bocock, Brenton, Buffinton, Cadwalader, Caruthers, Bayard Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Colfax, Cragin, Damrell, Davidson, Jacob C. Davis, Day, Denver, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Emrie, English, Florence, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Granger, Grow, Augustus Hall, Harlan, Herbert, Hickman, Hodges, Holloway, Thomas R. Horton, Valentine B. Horton, Howard, Hughston, Jewett, Kelly, Knapp, Knowlton, Knox, Leiter, Mace, Samuel S. Marshall, Matteson McCarty, Killian Miller, Smith Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Parker, Peck, Pelton, Perry, Pettit, Phelps, Pike, Pringle, Quitman, Sabin, Sage, Sandidge, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Samuel A. Smith, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Tyson, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Cadwalader C. Washburne, Ellihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, Watkins, Watson, Wells, Wheeler, Williams, and Woodworth—97.

Nays—Messrs. Akers, Barksdale, Hendley S. Bennett, Bingham, Bowie, Bradshaw, Burnett, James H. Campbell, Lewis D. Campbell, Carlile, Caskie, Ezra Clark, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Comins, Cox, Crawford, Cullen, Timothy Davis, Dean, Dowdell, Dunn, Durfee, Elliott, Etheridge, Evans, Faulkner, Garnett, Goode, Greenwood, J. Morrison Harris, Harrison, Haven, Houston, George W. Jones, Kennett, King, Knight, Kunkel, Lake, Letcher, Lumpkin, Alexander K. Marshall, McMullin, Millson, Millward, Moore, Andrew Oliver, Mordecai Oliver, Paine, Pennington, Powell, Purviance, Puryear, Ready, Ricaud, Robbins, Roberts, Ruffin, Savage, Seward, Shorter, William Smith, William R. Smith, Stephens, Swope, Talbott, Todd, Trafton, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Whitney, Woodruff, Daniel B. Wright, and Zollicoffer—75.

So the bill was passed.

*If we are not mistaken, only nine Southern Democrats voted for the bill—no Northern Democrat voted against it. The majority of those voting against it, it will be observed, are Southern Democrats and Southern and Northern Know Nothings, with a few Republicans not Native Americans, but still holding that the question of citizen-suffrage is a vital one. The great body of the Republicans, the Northern Democrats generally, one or two Know Nothings, and some Republicans with Native American principles, voted for the bill, because they believed the great issue involved in it overshadowed all other issues.

Monday, February 2d, the bill was sent to the Senate; and February 21, (only ten days of the session remaining,) it was taken up for consideration.

Mr. Biggs, of North Carolina, disclaiming affiliation with the Know Nothings, moved a Proviso—

"That only citizens of the United States shall be entitled to vote at the election provided for by this act."

A long debate ensued, chiefly carried on by Southern Senators—all of whom, whether Whig, Democratic, or Know Nothing, concurred in supporting the amendment.*

Mr. Douglas explained as follows:

"The organic act creating the Territory of Minnesota, many years since, provided that—

"'Every free white male inhabitant, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the said Territory at the time of the passage of this act, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office in the said Territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act.'

"That was the organic law of the Territory. Under that law, the Territorial Legislature have prescribed the qualifications of voters. The present bill provides that the legal voters of Minnesota may assemble and elect delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution and State Government for admission into the Union, leaving the qualifications of voters in the Territory, for this purpose, precisely what they have been ever since the Territory was organized, and as they are now fixed by law. I see no reason why we should change the existing law of Minnesota on that point for this one election, when there is no pretence that any evil consequences have grown out of the exercise of the elective franchise under the present law. If my friend from North Carolina could show me that any injurious consequences had grown out of the law of Minnesota fixing the qualifications of voters, there would be an argument in favor of the change. But there is no objection on that score—no consideration of that kind has been urged. The amendment, therefore, is only to carry out a theory of the Senator, and not to remedy any practical existing evil in the Territory."

Mr. Brodhead delivered himself of a long speech in favor of the amendment.

The Southern Senators, while agreeing in its support, differed in regard to the question whether the *States* may confer the right of suffrage on persons not fully naturalized. By the Democratic Southern Senators, it was held that the States might confer suffrage on whomsoever they pleased, slaves or women.

Mr. Seward placed himself on broad ground.

"In the first place, I regard that question of constitutional power as practically settled long ago—as settled forever, that the Congress of the United States has assumed and exercised the power of admitting foreign States, which had not a single citizen of the United States in those States, in the Union, as in the case of Texas. The greater includes the less. If we can permit all the people of California and Texas to come in as States organized, we can say that a class of persons within the United States, who are not citizens, shall exercise the right of suffrage on this, which is a similar occasion.

"In the second place, it is a question of right. I am, as all the world knows, of opinion that, with due regulations to prevent abuse, the right of suffrage ought to be co-ordinate in all communities with the obligation to submit to, support, and defend Government.

"In the third place, in regard to the policy, I am in favor of admitting aliens to vote, precisely for the reason that these new States are to be made chiefly by aliens and foreigners, or in a large degree by them; and I believe that that class of immigrants who come to this country are, as a general fact, as intelligent, and as capable of exercising the functions of self-government, as our own educated citizens."

Mr. Wilson was in favor of the general principle embodied in the amendment, but he would vote against it, because it would endanger the passage of the bill, which, if amended, must go back to the House.

The vote was at last taken, and stood—

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Evans, Fish, Fitzpatrick, Foot, Geyer, Green, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Reid, Rusk, Slidell, Thompson of Kentucky, and Thomson of New Jersey—27.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foster, Hale, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pugh, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, Wilson, and Wright—24.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The whole Southern Democracy, all the Whigs and Know Nothings of the South, with Brodhead of Pennsylvania, Wright and Thomson of New Jersey, Democrats, Fish of New York, and Foot of Vermont, Republican, voting in favor of the amendment. The negative votes are all from the free States, with the exception of that of Mr. Toombs, a gentleman who acts with great independence of all parties. All the Republicans and Democrats from the free States present, with the exceptions noted above, voted against the amendment.

The latter part of the same section was then amended, by striking out the words, "people of the proposed State," and inserting "citizens of the United States." The bill was then passed, Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, alone voting against it.

The bill, with the amendments, which had led to so protracted a debate, must now go back to the House, to lie on the Speaker's table, under a vast mass of bills, which had been long accumulating, and would have precedence. Only nine days remained for business. Some fifty river and harbor bills, passed by the Senate, were clamoring for consideration in the House. The large appropriation bills were awaiting action. The Corruption Investigation Committee had made their voluminous report, the testimony alone occupying more than 208 octavo pages. It was the purpose of a large body of members to sustain the demand of the accused parties for a trial at the bar of the House, a proceeding that would have consumed the remainder of the session. Only nine Southern Democrats had voted for the original bill, and it would be in the power of the rest, combined with Southern Know Nothings, to prevent its passage.

All this had been foreseen by Mr. Hale, one of the readiest and most sagacious members of the Senate, and he forthwith gave notice of his intention to move a reconsideration of the bill, with a view to save it from being lost in the chaos of the House—and he did save it.

Tuesday, February 24th, he moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill had been passed. The motion was debated all that day and the next, with great warmth, Southern Senators resisting it with extraordinary pertinacity. The report of the debate occupies nearly thirty-one solid columns of the *Globe*, of which twenty-four columns are filled with the speeches of Southern men. Mr. Hale occupied scarcely ten minutes in explaining the reasons for moving the reconsideration, and in vindicating himself against the criticisms of Mr. Crittenden.

Mr. Douglas made a speech in reply to Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, and Mr. Pugh a brief historical statement in regard to aliens voting in Territories of the United States. With these exceptions, the debate was carried on by the slaveholding Senators.

It took a wide range, all of the Senators from the South who spoke committing themselves to the general principle, that none but citizens of the United States ought to be entitled to suffrage; but two of them, Messrs. Green and Toombs, making an exception to the principle in the case of Minnesota; because, under the organic act authorizing the Territorial Legislature to define the qualifications of voters, the Legislature had acted, and it was therefore proper to recognise those as legal voters, already defined to be so, by the law of the Territory.

Another topic discussed at great length, having no bearing upon the subject, was whether, as Congress had fixed five years as the probationary period of citizenship for aliens, it was constitutional for the States to confer the right of suffrage on any aliens, unless they had fulfilled this period. Some of the Southern Senators disclaimed any opposition to the bill on the ground that Minnesota was to be a free State; others occupied a different position.

Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, did not attempt to disguise his feelings. "I am not, as a Southern man," he said, "going to vote to help them to bludgeon us." He referred to the changes in the new State delegations, wrought by Free-Soilism. There was the faithful Senator from California, (Mr. Weller,) struck down. There was his venerable friend from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) who had nobly withstood the instructions of his Legislature—he too had fallen in the madness of the hour. His colleague would soon follow in the same way—and so would his friend (Mr. Jones) from Iowa, notwithstanding the land grants for his State he had procured at the last session. There was quite enough of that influence (Free Soil) in the councils of the nation. He proceeded to argue that, under the Treaty by which we acquired Louisiana, Minnesota was really slave territory, and Southern men now had a right to carry their slaves there. The truth was, the equilibrium in the Senate was already destroyed—the free States were ahead of the slave States. Admit this Minnesota, and you will have "arrogant, assuming, pretentious, free-soilish, and Democratic Senators."

"I have said that I want no Minnesota Senators here. Minnesota is a Territory belonging to us, and we have the power to make all needful rules and regulations for it. Instead of taking into partnership and full fellowship all these outside Territories and lost people of God's earth, I would say, let us take them if we must do it, and rule them as Great Britain rules Affghanistan, Hindostan, and all through the Punjaub, making them work for you as you would work a negro on a cotton or sugar plantation. I do not like the business of buying land and paying for it out of our money, and then selling it out under price, or giving it away to these people.

"I have read the clause of the Constitution and the article of the treaty with France, and if I were in the Supreme Court, I would decide that this was all slaveholding Territory. I would say that it should remain slaveholding Territory until Free-Soilism died out like Millerism and Mormonism. I should be willing to reconsider the vote by which this bill was passed; but I know that if that be done, I shall not succeed in laying it on the table. If the proposition that nobody but American citizens shall vote is to kill it, I will go in for that, as it rather suits my feelings."

Mr. Thompson renewed his attack on similar grounds, at a subsequent stage of the proceedings, but it is needless to quote further—enough is before our readers to show the *animus* of his speech, and, let us add, the real meaning of the opposition of the Slaveholding members.

The speech of Mr. Douglas in reply was able and spirited. One passage in it will show his position in relation to the equilibrium demand of the Richmond *Enquirer* and other leading Democratic papers of the South:

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* An exception we shall notice before the close of the article.

"Mr. President, why should we get into a sectional contest here between the North and the South? Is it to be a struggle to keep up an equilibrium between non-slaveholding and slaveholding States? Sir, I deny the power of this Government to maintain any equilibrium on the subject. It is contrary to the principles of the Constitution; it is contrary to the principles of the Nebraska bill; it is contrary to the principles of the Democratic party; it is contrary to the principles of State equality and self-government, to attempt here to keep an equilibrium between non-slaveholding and slaveholding States, in order that they may balance each other. Each State has the right to do as it pleases; and I tell the Senator from Kentucky that he has no more right to insist upon having Slavery tolerated in Minnesota, than I have to insist upon having Slavery abolished in Kentucky. He would be driven immediately to resistance, to revolution, before he would permit this Congress, or any other power outside of the State of Kentucky, to interfere with her domestic and local institutions—to tell her whether she should use slave or free labor. Then why attempt to interfere with any other State, or any other Territory or community, upon that very subject on which he is so sensitive, within the limits of his own State!"

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, did not *exactly* agree with his friend from Kentucky, (Mr. Thompson,) but that gentleman had "gone very far in a few words to present the ideas he (Mr. Butler) entertained on the subject!"

"I have no doubt," said Mr. Butler, "that this vote will be reconsidered, and that it is a foregone conclusion. This may be, and I think it will be, a Commonwealth, quite as good as some of the old ones, in which fanaticism is burning to the very bitter ashes of disappointment. I am sorry to say it; for I believe if I were to utter one sentiment more than another, it is that the time will come when the old Atlantic States—the old thirteen—will find that they have committed the greatest mistake they ever committed in life, in allowing miserable issues to separate them. I believe, sir, that the time will come when those men who are now contending with almost an internecine spirit, one against the other, will find that they have committed suicide.

"But, sir, that is looking into the future; and when the curtain of the future is thrown before me, I have no right to look beyond it; I cannot look beyond it. You are voting for this measure, not because your States recognise it as a principle, but because you think it gives you power. That is the truth of it; and it does give you power. *I vote for it on the ground that I cannot resist it.* I differ with my friend from Kentucky. I have no right to resist the admission of a new State. I have always had my doubts whether the admission of new States into this Confederacy would perpetuate the Union, or was an element to dissolve it."

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, was vehement in his appeals against reconsideration. He invoked the Democratic Party to save the country from ruin.

"Look over at the other side of the Chamber, and you do not find a solitary member of that party commonly called the Black Republican party—but which I call simply the Republican party—who does not vote for this proposition. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Hale] comes forward to-day, and does us the favor to say that he voted for the proposition the other day, simply that he might have the opportunity to do what he has done—move a reconsideration; that he, isolating himself from his party—that he, the Senator from New Hampshire, voted with us on this side of the question, having in his mind's eye at the moment to move this reconsideration. Now, sir, the whole body of that party come up in solid phalanx, and vote to reverse the decision which we rendered two days ago. I know not whether we are, here, more under the influence of foreigners or Black Republicanism; but I know this, that we are under some sort of influence which causes us to change our judgment very suddenly."

The first vote taken was on reconsidering the vote by which the bill had been passed, and it stood—

YEAS — Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Hale, Harlan, Iverson, James, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Nourse, Pugh, Rusk, Seward, Stuart, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, Wilson, and Yulee—35.

NAYS — Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Gwin, Houston, Hunter, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Pratt, Reid, Slidell, and Thompson of Kentucky—21.

All the Republican Senators voted this time in solid phalanx for reconsideration. Brodhead and Gwin, Democratic free State Senators, voted against it. Green of Missouri, Iverson and Toombs of Georgia, Johnson of Arkansas, Mallory and Yulee of Florida, and Rusk of Texas, Southern Senators voting for Buchanan at the last election, were the only Senators from the slave States in favor of reconsideration. Messrs. Green and Toombs, in the course of their remarks, had explained their reasons—the organic act had empowered the Territorial Legislature to fix the qualifications of voters—the Legislature had acted—the bill simply recognised the qualifications fixed by the Territorial law. Mr. Iverson probably voted with his colleague from courtesy, as, on the final vote, he was for the amendment. Mr. Rusk explained that he voted for reconsideration merely out of courtesy to the friends of the bill, so as to give them an opportunity to suit themselves.

Mr. Johnson, joined subsequently by Mr. Sebastian, went all through with the friends of reconsideration, as did Mr. Mallory, while Mr. Fish, after the foregoing vote, recorded his name with the Southern Senators, in support of the amendments, and Messrs. Yulee, Rusk, and Iverson, voted not only for them, but against the bill, when they were stricken out. Mr. Gwin voted all through with the South, except on the final vote—the passage of the bill—on which his name is not recorded.

Having anticipated so much, we now print the yeas and nays on the several motions. The first vote having been taken, the discussion was proceeded with, when Mr. Pratt, of Maryland, moved an adjournment, which was defeated:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Mason, Pratt, Reed, Rusk, Slidell, and Thompson of Kentucky—19.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Brodhead, Collamer, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foster, Hale, Harlan, James, Nourse, Pugh, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—22.

At a later period, on a similar motion by Mr. Biggs, of North Carolina, the vote stood—

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bell of Tennessee, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Clay, Crittenden, Fitzpatrick, Hunter, Mason, Reid, and Thompson of Kentucky—12.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Collamer, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harlan, Nourse, Rusk, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—19.

In the former case, of the 22 negative votes, 13 were Republicans; in the latter, of the 19 negatives, 13 were Republicans.

Still later, Mr. Bell moved to adjourn, and the vote stood—

YEAS—Messrs. Bell of Tennessee, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Crittenden, Fitzpatrick, Hunter, Mallory, Mason, Reid, Rusk, and Trumbull—12.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Collamer, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harlan, Nourse, Seward, Stuart, Toucey, Wade, and Wilson—16.

Here, again, of the 16 negatives, 12 were Republicans—all of the free State Democrats having given out, except Douglas, Bigler, Stuart, and Toucey.

This record shows the union, power, and endurance, of the Republican phalanx.

The Senate finding itself without a quorum, at a late hour, adjourned.

The next day, the second amendment of Mr. Biggs was reconsidered, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Hale, Harlan, James, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pugh, Sebastian, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, Wilson, and Yulee—31.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Clay, Crittenden, Evans, Fish, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Gwin, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Pratt, Reid, Rusk, Slidell, and Thompson of Kentucky—24.

Yeas—13 Republicans, 13 Free State Democrats, 4 Slave State Democrats, 1 Slave State Independent.

Nays—21 Slave State Senators, nearly all Democrats; 2 Free State Democrats; 1 Republican.

The other amendment, restricting the right of voting to "citizens of the United States," was then reconsidered:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Hale, Harlan, James, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pugh, Sebastian, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, Wilson, and Yulee—31.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Evans, Fish, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Mason, Pratt, Reid, Rusk, Slidell, and Thompson of Kentucky—21.

The affirmative vote, as above: Nays—19 Slave State Senators, chiefly Democrats; 1 Free State Democrat, 1 Republican.

After a prolonged debate, the question was then taken on the amendment, and it was rejected.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Fish, Fitzpatrick, Goyer, Gwin, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Pratt, Reid, Rusk, Slidell, and Thompson of Kentucky—24.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Hale, Harlan, James, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Nourse, Pugh, Sebastian, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, Wilson, and Yulee—32.

Yeas, or those voting for it, 21 Slave State Senators, chiefly Democrats, two Free State Democrats, 1 Republican. Nays, or those voting against it, 13 Republicans, 13 Free State Democrats, 5 Slave State Democrats, 1 Slave State Independent.

The other amendment was then rejected, and the question being on the passage of the bill just as it came from the House, the vote stood—

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bigler, Bright, Cass, Collamer, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Hale, Harlan, James, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pugh, Sebastian, Seward, Stuart, Toombs, Toucey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, and Wilson—31.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Crittenden, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Pratt, Reid, Rusk, Slidell, Thompson of Kentucky, and Yulee—22.

Yeas—14 Republicans, 13 Free State Democrats, 3 Slave State Democrats, 1 Slave State Independent.

Nays—21 Slave State Senators, chiefly Democrats, 1 Free State Democrat, Mr. Gwin not appearing.

It will be noticed, that Mr. Thomson, of New Jersey, who gave his vote to reconsider the vote by which the bill had been passed, did not vote at all at any subsequent period. The Senate, when full, contains 62 Senators, 30 from the Slave States, 32 from the Free States. Of the latter, 27 voted for the bill as it came from the House, while four did not vote, Mr. Sumner being absent, owing to sickness, Messrs. Wright and Thomson, of New Jersey, and Mr. Gwin, of California, not voting. Of the 30 Slave State Senators, 21 voted against the bill, 4 for it, and 5 did not vote, either owing to absence or indisposition.

The bill was saved, the rights of Minnesota were secured, and the record will show clearly to every unprejudiced mind what party can claim the greater share of the honor of the triumph.

In conclusion, to baffle the misrepresentations of the Know Nothings concerning the alienism, as they style it, of the Republicans, to open the eyes of the naturalized citizens to a fair appreciation of Parties, and to expose the groundlessness of the strenuous opposition of Southern Democrats and Know Nothings, and of such Northern Democrats as Messrs. Brodhead, Thomson, and Gwin, to the bill, without the mischievous amendment of Mr. Biggs, we submit the following clear exposition of the qualifications of "legal voters" allowed to vote by this Minnesota bill.

The organic act establishing a Territorial Government in Minnesota, provided that all white male adult inhabitants should vote at the first election, and that thereafter the Territorial Legislature should prescribe the qualifications of voters, provided no man should vote who was not twenty-one years of age, who was not white, and who was not a citizen of the United States, or who had not taken an oath to support the Constitution, and the preliminary oath for becoming a citizen.

The Territorial Legislature, invested with this authority, enacted a law, defining the qualifications of voters.

"SEC. 1. All free white male inhabitants over the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided within this Territory six months next preceding an election, shall be entitled to vote at the election for delegate to Congress, and for territorial, county, and precinct officers; *Provided*, That they shall be citizens of the United States, or shall have resided within the United States for a period of two years next preceding such election, and declared on oath before a court of record having a seal and clerk, or in time of vacation before the clerk thereof, his intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of the act of Congress entitled 'An act to establish the Territorial Government of Minnesota,' approved March 3, 1849: *Provided*, That nothing in this chapter shall be so construed as to prevent all persons of mixed white and Indian blood, who have adopted the customs and habits of civilization, from voting."

A legal voter in Minnesota must have resided six months in the Territory before an election, must be a citizen of the United States, or have resided two years in the United States, declared on oath his intention to become a citizen, and sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and the organic act of Minnesota.

There may be two or three thousand voters of this description in Minnesota, in a population of two hundred thousand, who have settled there, bought land, are farming it, and have been accustomed to vote. The bill enabling the "legal voters" of Minnesota to form a State Constitution, of course includes this small class of inchoate citizens. Dreadful! What an assault on our free institutions! What ample justification for the Senators from the slave States, assisted by Messrs. Gwin, Brodhead, and Thomson, from the free States, to war against the new free State!

Enough—the common sense of the People will be at no loss to understand the meaning of the Slave Power, nor will it hesitate to approve the course taken by the Republican Senators, and the Democratic members who sustained them. To have hazarded such a bill for such a cause, would have been sheer madness.

The Review.

KATHIE BRANDE. A Fireside History of a Quiet Life. By Holme Lee, author of "Thorney Hall," "Gilbert Messenger," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

We do not recollect of having ever met with any of the previous works of Holme Lee. This volume is a reprint of an English book, as we judge from the places mentioned where the scenes are laid, and also from the mention of it in some English publications. Life-histories perhaps seldom fully meet the expectation of the reader. The events of every one's existence are so peculiar in some respects, there are such varied episodes mingled with the society of even a small community, truth is so much stranger than fiction, and there are such a countless shading of thoughts and feelings of which individuals are conscious, and many, too, no one scarcely recognises as described to himself in any book—that almost even a volume that, aiming at depicting life in any sphere or phase, seems ever to leave something yet to be filled up, in the current of events or expression of feelings it contains.

This book is, however, written well as a whole; but had we read only the first few pages, and formed from them our impressions, we should have judged of it far less favorably than we do, having gone through it all. It is designed to exhibit the eventful though quiet life of a young girl, in a humble condition, who, year after year, goes on sacrificing the dearest object of her heart, subjecting herself to trials for the sake of her mother, brother, and sisters.

The story is very finely told, the characters drawn with clear outlines, and the volume takes strong hold on the reader's attention and sympathy. There is sometimes too much moralizing, though the sentences are pleasingly written; yet they interrupt the progress of the story. We think the author has carried her heroine's sacrifices in some instances too far; the willingness of Kathie Brande to give up her choicest hopes, as she does, for her brother Stephen, when he proves himself so profligate and perfectly heartless—and, withal, to let her own and her mother's support be taken away to pay the debts his vices have contracted—appears to us not only somewhat unnatural, but not just. After the long and patient waiting, too, of Felix, to throw him off as she does from a supposed necessity, in a great degree created by the worthless conduct of others, is, in our view, a defect in the story.

There is, too, not enough told of Felix's wife, since the reader has been so much enlisted in him, as a lover and a man. The general tone of the work is good; many beautiful passages occur; and the varied personages are, in the main, suitably depicted for her object. The author has produced a book which, without high-wrought description and exciting language, however, shows that she posesses a power to stir the emotions; and, making allowance for perhaps too much of the morbid element in certain parts, is healthful, and in general will be read with pleasure, as a work of more than usual interest.

THE LATE AFFRAY IN KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, *Feb.* 18, 1857.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Another fight has just taken place at Lecompton, which may be the forerunner of another war. The meeting which was called to be held at that place last Saturday, was postponed till to-day, on account of the death of the notorious Major General Richardson, one of the members of the Bogus Council. I just came down from Topeka this morning, and had not heard of this postponement until I reached this place, when I learned that about fifty of the Lawrence men had gone up; but some of them have just come down, with a message from Governor Geary, asking fifty more men, to hold themselves in readiness to march to his protection, and from them I gather the particulars of the affair. At two o'clock the meeting was called to order and organized, by electing Owen C. Stewart, mayor of Lecompton, chairman; and a committee of five was appointed by the Chair, in pursuance of a resolution, to draft a resolution expressing the opinion of the meeting concerning the difficulties between the Governor and Sherrard. In a few moments the committee reported, through their chairman, Mr. Leggett, of Lawrence, a series of resolutions, condemning Sherrard for his insult to the Governor, and approving of the Governor's opposition to him. At this, Sherrard rose, and said, that any man who would report or vote for such a resolution was a coward, a liar, and a villain. This beautiful and chaste language had scarcely escaped him, ere the chairman, by virtue of his mayorship, took Mr. Sherrard by the collar, and not very gently hoisted him off the platform. Sherrard continued his cursing.

Upon remarking to some of his friends, a few moments after, that he had been condemned by the meeting, a young man, named Shepard, quietly said that he deserved it; whereupon Sherrard drew his revolver, and fired two shots at Shepard, both taking effect in his thigh. Shepard then drew his revolver, and fired thrice at Sherrard, one or two taking effect. Sherrard then drew close, and struck his adversary a blow upon the head with his pistol. This was returned by Shepard in the same manner. The mayor by this time got down, and, with the assistance of the Lawrence men, parted the combatants. Sherrard, in walking off, met, a few paces distant, Mr. Jones, brother-in-law to the Governor, whom he saluted with "And you G— d——d son of a b—h, I'm going to blow your brains out!" at the same time levelling his revolver. But, quick as thought, Jones raised his, and shot Sherrard in the forehead, the latter falling dead instantly. Jones quietly put up his revolver, and started off, but was at once arrested by Mayor Stewart. During the fight, and from the commencement, about fifty shots, in all, were fired, upon all sides. Sheriff Jones took part, and had one of his fingers shot off.

The Pro-Slavery part of the crowd commenced threatening to attack the Governor's house, which was immediately surrounded by the Free State men for its protection. The Governor made them a speech, had them organized, by electing officers, and armed them out of Government arms in his office, and the convicts were called out. He sent a message for the regular troops encamped across the river; but lo! it was found that the Pro-Slavery party *had cut them off early in the morning, by destroying all the ferry boats.* As I I have before stated, he then sent to Lawrence for aid. A company is ready to march, and a messenger has been sent up, informing him of the fact.

Many think this is the beginning of another war; but I think the enemy are too shrewd to carry the matter any further at present, as they would be certain of getting whipped.

Governor Robinson arrived in town to-night, from the East. He indignantly repels the idea that he has deserted our cause. K.

THE NEW TARIFF.—It will be some days yet before we shall be able to give our readers an official copy of the new tariff act. The newspapers of the commercial cities have attempted to ascertain its principal provisions, and the following are given as the leading articles embraced in the change:

All wool costing 20 cents or under per pound at the place of exportation will be admitted duty free, all other descriptions of wool will pay 24 per cent.

Iron and sugar will pay 24 per cent.

Dyestuffs generally will be admitted free.

Wines and liquors will pay 30 per cent.

Alkalis will pay 4 per cent.

Woollen fabrics generally will pay 24 per cent.

Woollen blankets will pay 15 per cent.

Dyed, printed, stained, or bleached cotton fabrics will pay 24 per cent.

Brown or unbleached cotton goods will pay 19 per cent.

Linen fabrics of all descriptions will pay 15 per cent.

Spices will be admitted free.

There is also a long list of articles of less importance added to the free list, which have heretofore paid from 10 to 30 per cent.

MR. BANKS'S FAREWELL TO THE HOUSE.

The following are the remarks of Mr. Banks, in reply to the vote of thanks embodied in the following resolution, offered by Mr. Aiken, of South Carolina, and adopted by yeas 119, nays 35:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due and are hereby tendered to the Hon. N. P. Banks, jr., for the able, impartial, and dignified manner in which he has discharged the duties of Speaker during the present Congress."

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I solicit that indulgence which is usually accorded to those who stand in the position, which I occupy.

I should fail to perform an imperative duty, did I sever our official connection without acknowledging my obligations to the officers with whom I have been associated, and to the House itself, for that generous and unwavering support which has been given to me in my sphere of service.

The Congressional term which now closes will bear in the history of legislation no ordinary character. The unexampled energy of the American people, and the rapid extension of their theatres of action and enterprise, has crowded upon us from day to day a constant succession of questions of extraordinary character and serious import, and to this has been superadded an unusual amount of the ordinary business of legislation.

To have been called under such circumstances to the chair of this, the first of deliberative assemblies, an office which has been endeared to the people by its association with the memories of Muhlenberg, Macon, Cheves, and Clay, is an honor that might well crown a life of study and toil. To have discharged the duties of this office, delicate and important as they have been, to your entire satisfaction, is more than I could have hoped. The Journal of the House, an unerring and an impartial record, and the resolution to which, as I am informed, you have come, following the suggestion of the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Aiken,) give to me assurances that cannot but be gratifying; and for these I proffer to you my profound and life-long acknowledgments.

The welcome word from me must be that word which speeds your parting from these scenes of anxious labor. I invoke for you, gentlemen, a happy return to your homes, where the sweet and native air of hill and vale, and the loved forms and sounds of home and those we love at home, may revive your exhausted energies, purge the system of the fever of fitful and unsatisfactory contests, and bring each and all to the cheering admission, whatever disappointment and perils we encounter, that the performance of public duty and the service of our country is always a pleasant labor.

It is only left for me to announce that the power of the House as a legislative body now ceases, and to bid you farewell.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

Monday, March 9, 1857.

The President of the Senate laid before the body resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio relative to the independence of Liberia.

Mr. Wade moved that they lie on the table and be printed, as the standing committees of the Senate were not yet formed.

Standing Committees of the Senate.

Mr. Seward moved that the following list compose the standing committees of the Senate during the present session:

Committee on Foreign Relations—Messrs. Mason, Douglas, Slidell, Polk, Crittenden, Seward, and Foot.

Committee on Finance—Messrs. Hunter, Pearce, Gwin, Bright, Biggs, Fessenden, and Cameron.

Committee on Commerce—Messrs. Clay, Benjamin, Bigler, Toombs, Reid, Bright, and Hamlin.

Committee on Military Affairs — Messrs. Davis, Fitzpatrick, Johnson, Iverson, Broderick, Wilson, and King.

Committee on Naval Affairs—Messrs. Mallory, Thomson of New Jersey, Slidell, Allen, Green, Bell of Tennessee, and Hale.

Committee on Public Lands—Messrs. Stuart, Johnson, Pugh, Mallory, Broderick, Foster, and Harlan.

Committee on Private Land Claims—Messrs. Benjamin, Biggs, Thompson of Kentucky, Kennedy, and Durkee.

Committee on Indian Affairs—Messrs. Sebastian, Brown, Reid, Fitch, Bell of Tennessee, Houston, and Doolittle.

Committee of Claims — Messrs. Iverson, Yulee, Polk, Bell of New Hampshire, and Simmons.

Committee on Revolutionary Claims—Messrs. Evans, Bates, Crittenden, Wilson, and Durkee.

Committee on the Judiciary—Messrs. Butler, Bayard, Toombs, Pugh, Benjamin, Collamer, and Trumbull.

Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads—Messrs. Rusk, Yulee, Bigler, Gwin, Fitch, Collamer, and Dixon.

Committee on Pensions — Messrs. Jones, Thomson of New Jersey, Clay, Bates, Thompson of Kentucky, King, and Foster.

Committee on the District of Columbia—Messrs. Brown, Mason, Allen, Rusk, Kennedy, Hamlin, and Chandler.

Committee on Patents and the Patent Office—Messrs. Reid, Evans, Davis, Simmons, and Trumbull.

Committee on Territories—Messrs. Douglas, Jones, Sebastian, Fitzpatrick, Green, Sumner, and Wade.

Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate—Messrs. Evans, Wright, and Dixon.

Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds—Messrs. Bayard, Hunter, Thomson of New Jersey, Douglas, and Hale.

Committee on Printing—Messrs. Johnson, Fitzpatrick, and Bell of New Hampshire.

Committee on the Library—Messrs. Pearce, Bayard, and Butler.

Committee on Engrossed Bills — Messrs. Wright, Bigler, and Harlan.

Committee on Enrolled Bills—Messrs. Jones, Brown, and Doolittle.

Mr. Wade asked the yeas and nays on the adoption of the report.

Mr. Foot was understood to say, that when the arrangement of the committees was entered into by the majority, it was put in the place of ballot.

Mr. Mason held that it was in accordance with usage.

Mr. Hamlin expressed himself as decidedly against any arrangements of the kind. The filling of the committee was partial and unjust.

Mr. Seward should vote for the resolution, though, at the same time, he agreed that the distribution was not as fair and equitable as it might have been.

Mr. Trumbull would have no part or lot in sustaining the arrangement. The majority had the power in their own hands; and, if the minority had not been wholly excluded, it had certainly come as near it as possible.

Mr. Fessenden contended that the great interests of commerce had been overlooked in the appointment of one of its most important committees, that of Commerce, which had no proper representation.

Mr. Seward did not desire any of his friends to be compromised by his resolution. It was offered on his own volition, and without consultation with any one. He had been in the Senate when the party with whom he acted was not supposed to be entitled to be represented, and yet he had never uttered any complaint.

The question was then taken on the adoption of the committees, and it was decided in the affirmative by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Broderick, Brown, Butler, Clay, Davis, Douglas, Evans, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Gwin, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mason, Reid, Rusk, Sebastian, Seward, Slidell, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, and Yulee—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Cameron, Chandler, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hamlin, Harlan, King, Simmons, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—18.

Mr. Wade moved that the resolution of the Legislature of Ohio, respecting the recognition of Liberia, be taken from the table, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; which was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Trumbull, the protests, reports, and other papers relating to the Indiana contested case, were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

On motion by Mr. Mason, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of Executive business; and, after a brief period spent therein, adjourned.

FOREIGN.

Four Days Later from Europe.

New York, March 5.—The Collins steamship Atlantic, from Liverpool on the 18th ultimo, arrived this evening, bringing four days later news from Europe.

Lord Palmerston has stated in Parliament that the negotiations at Paris on the Persian question were making satisfactory progress, and might be brought to a close at any moment.

James Sadlier had been expelled from the House of Commons.

The Emperor, on the 16th ultimo, opened the Legislative Chamber of France with a speech from the throne amidst great pomp and enthusiasm. He referred to the peaceable solution of the recent difficulties amongst the various European Powers, and, considering that the best understanding now prevails between all the great Powers, thinks that the time is auspicious to endeavor seriously to regulate and develop the strength and riches of the nation. He rejoices over the prosperous condition of the country, as evinced by largely increasing revenues; regrets the suffering caused by deficient crops and the recent inundation; says that the expenditures will be reduced and the war tax abolished from January next; that the annual army contingent is fixed at one hundred thousand men; that an appropriation is made for the transatlantic line of steamers; and, after referring to sundry local topics, winds up with a panegyric upon the state of the Empire.

Italian affairs are in the same unsatisfactory condition. The agents sent by the Government to offer political prisoners an exile in South America, report that they had nearly all refused to accept it.

The Persia's advices caused an advance in the Liverpool cotton market of fully ⅛d. The sales of Saturday and Monday were 40,000 bales, including 22,000 on speculation and for export. Tuesday's market was more quiet, with sales of 10,000 bales, including 5,000 on speculation and for export. The quotations are for middling Orleans 7 15-16*d*., and for middling uplands 7⅞*d*.

The Liverpool breadstuffs market was steady. Flour was quiet. Provisions were dull. Consols for money 93⅝ a 93¾.

Three Days Later from Europe.

New York March, 6.—The Cunard steamship Persia, from Liverpool the 21st ultimo, has arrived, with three days later news from Europe than was received by the Atlantic.

Lord Napier is a passenger in the Persia.

The Earl of Ellesmere died at Bridgewater House on the 18th of February.

D'Israeli was to attempt the overthrow of the Ministry by moving an amendment to the financial budget, proposing that the estimates should be adjusted over the period of the next three years, so as then to allow of the total repeal of the income tax.

The Persian difficulty had taken an unexpectedly unfavorable turn, the Persian Envoy having suddenly ceased negotiations at Paris, and refusing to visit London.

The French Government had instructed its representatives at London, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Berlin, to invite those Powers to accredit their resident Ministers at Paris as Plenipotentiaries to settle the Neufchatel affair. The conference meets early in March, but it is feared that an adjustment will be difficult. The principality question was still unsettled.

There is nothing new from Italy or Turkey.

The Russians have resumed the Circassian war.

The English Government has a despatch announcing the total destruction of Canton.

The ratification of a treaty between Russia and Persia was exchanged on the 18th January. By this treaty Russia gets a large tract of land on the frontier of Turkey, giving her the complete command of the road from Trebizonde to Erzeroum.

A colliery accident had occurred near Wombwell, South Yorkshire, by which one hundred and fifty lives were lost.

The sales of cotton in the Liverpool market for the week ending February 20th were 62,000 bales, including 17,000 on speculation and 4,500 for export. The Persia's advices from this side caused an advance of ⅛d., but all qualities subsequently declined ⅛d., with a quiet market. The quotations are: Fair Orleans, 8⅜*d*.; middling, 7 13-16*d*.; middling uplands, 7⅞*d*. Breadstuffs were generally quiet. Corn was 6*d*. lower.

FOREIGN ITEMS.

ENGLAND AND PERSIA.—The Persian difficulty, which, a few days since, appeared in a fair way of settlement, has taken a new turn for the worse, it being reported that Ferouk Khan had, in consequence of the unexpected receipt of bellicose despatches from his Government, broken off all negotiation with the British Minister at Paris, and would not now visit England.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON.—In reply to Lord C. Hamilton, Mr. Labouchere said that no orders or instructions had been issued to the British authorities at Hong Kong, or to the admiral in command of the squadron in the Chinese waters, suspending or superseding the directions given by Earl Grey, in 1837, whereby offensive operations against the Chinese were peremptorily forbidden, without the previous sanction of this country.

NEUFCHATEL AFFAIR.—The French Government has instructed its representatives at London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, to invite the Governments to which they are accredited to join in a conference at Paris for the settlement of the Neufchatel affair. The Ministers of the above Powers resident at Paris will act as plenipotentiaries. The conference will meet about the beginning of March, and it is believed will be protracted ere a satisfactory adjustment can be arrived at.

CHINA.—The Earl of Derby laid on the table the terms of his motion respecting the affairs of China, which stands for discussion on Thursday next. It was as follows: "That this House has heard with deep regret the interruption of amicable relations between her Majesty's subjects and Chinese authorities at Canton, arising out of the measures adopted by her Majesty's chief superintendents of trade to make reparation for the alleged infraction of the supplementary treaty of the 18th of October, 1843; that, in the opinion of this House, the occurrence of differences upon this subject rendered the time peculiarly unfavorable for pressing upon the Chinese authorities a claim for the admittance of British subjects into Canton, which had been left in abeyance since 1849, and for supporting the same by force of arms; that, in the opinion of this House, operations of actual hostility ought not to have been undertaken without the express instructions previously received by her Majesty's Government; and that neither of the subjects adverted to in the foregoing resolutions afforded sufficient justification for such operations."

RUSSIA.—The ratifications of the treaty signed between Russia and Persia, on the 5th of January last, were exchanged at Teheran on the 18th of the same month. This treaty cedes to Russia a tract of land on the frontiers of Turkey, and situate between Bayazid and Nakhshivan, giving to Russia a complete command of the strategic road from Trebizond, on the Black Sea, to the Persian frontier by Erzeroum. Russia has been endeavoring, since 1828, to obtain the concession which Persia now grants. It is added, that orders were immediately sent from St. Petersburg, to construct a line of fortresses on the ceded territory.

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GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

THE DEMOCRACY OF MICHIGAN.—The Detroit *Free Press* contains an address of the Democratic members of the Legislature of Michigan, to the Democracy of the State. The authors recite the various measures of the "Republican" majority, and complain of the election of a Senator of the United States in the place of Gen. Cass, of the resolutions of instruction, of the appropriation of money from the treasury for Kansas, of prodigality in the use of the public funds, of the passage of a general banking law; of the improper disposition of the grant by Congress of four million acres of the public lands, whereby various companies will be enriched, and one of which has diverted the road from a direct line about forty miles; of the diversion also of the grant of swamp lands made by Congress, and of various other acts of dereliction which it would be needless to recite. The authors of the address also call upon all good men to save the courts and the judiciary from the contaminating influences of fanatical abolitionism. Having, as they say, sounded the alarm, they leave the result to the people.

PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.—This body, which closed its session at Harrisburg on the morning of the 3d of March, made the following nominations for State officers. For Governor, William F. Packer; Judge of the Supreme Court, Ellis Lewis; Canal Commissioner, Nimrod Strickland. A series of resolutions was adopted, the substance of which may be briefly stated. They congratulate the Democracy of the Union on the election of Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge, and pledge themselves to support the wise conservatism of the first Pennsylvania President; they compliment the Democratic party, and consider its existence essential to the preservation of liberty; they consider an adherence to the rules and usages of the party necessary to prevent disaster, and an adherence to past principles and policy indispensable. They endorse the nominations of State officers, and deprecate the election of Mr. Cameron to the United States Senate, and they compliment Mr. J. W. Forney, on party usefulness.

Mr. Packer, the nominee for Governor, addressed the Convention, and urged the importance of adhering to the "leading principles of the party."

The Washington *Union* newspaper passed yesterday from the hands of A. O. P. Nicholson, Esq., who has for several years been its editor in chief, into the hands of the Hon. John Appleton, of Maine, who will henceforth be the editor of the official journal. Mr. A. was formerly a Representative in Congress, and during the last two years was Secretary of Legation in England under Mr. Buchanan. In a handsome salutatory yesterday he laid down his editorial platform in a style evincing ability and good taste.

KANSAS LEGISLATURE.—*St. Louis, March* 2.—The Kansas Legislature adjourned at daylight on the 21st ultimo, by a unanimous resolve. The Legislature made a friendly and courteous call upon the Governor after twelve o'clock at night. Before adjournment, the Governor vetoed the census and constitutional bill, and signed the rebellion bill. The former was passed unanimously over the veto. The Territory is reported quiet.

NEW YORK TOWN ELECTIONS.—Returns of the town elections in thirteen counties of New York State, which last year chose as Supervisors 61 Republicans, 71 Democrats, and 62 Americans, now show the election of 121 Republicans, 51 Democrats, and 24 Americans—being a Republican gain of 60, a Democratic loss of 20, and an American loss of 38.

In these towns, the Democrats and Americans made a general effort to unite their forces to defeat the Republicans.

THE REMAINS OF DR. KANE.—*Louisville, March* 6.—An imposing procession of masons in regalia, firemen, and citizens, received the remains of Dr. Kane this morning, and, marching through the principal streets, attended them to the steamer.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.—*St. Louis, March* 6.—Advices from Westport state that a meeting of citizens passed resolutions to resist every effort from every quarter calculated to renew the former troubles, and extending a hospitable welcome to emigrants from all sections of the country, and pledging themselves to let the laws of Kansas and Missouri punish all violators of the law.

NEW YORK TOWN ELECTIONS.—Additional returns of the town elections in New York State show that, in thirteen counties heard from, the supervisors, who stood last year 52 Republican, 53 Democratic, and 40 American, stand now 94 Republican, 49 Democratic, and 16 American, thus showing a gain of 42 for the Republicans and a loss of 4 for the Democrats and 42 for the Americans.

It is observable that the Republican force is greater than that of both the Democrats and Americans, which it never was before.

THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH. — *New York, March* 9.—The Secretary of the Navy has ordered the steam frigates Niagara and Mississippi to be equipped with dispatch, to assist in laying the Atlantic telegraph cable.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE.—*Albany, March* 9. In the Assembly to-day a resolution was offered for the appointment of a joint committee to consider the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.

FREE STATE CONVENTION IN KANSAS.—The Free State men of Kansas have called a delegate convention to be held at Topeka on the 10th of the present month, (to-day.) The object of the convention is stated to be to consult upon the best policy to pursue, and to determine upon some definite plan of action by which the *bona fide* settlers of Kansas can have a voice in legislative affairs, and be protected in their rights.

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.—The Harrisburg *Telegraph* of the 6th instant states that the American State Council which met on the 5th at Altona has ratified the call issued by the opposition members of the Legislature, for a State Convention to nominate candidates for Governor, Supreme Judge, and Canal Commissioner, on the 25th instant. The Republicans have also made a call for a meeting at Harrisburg on the 12th instant, to nominate candidates.

LATER FROM KANSAS.—*St. Louis, March* 5. A letter to the *Republican*, dated Westport, February 26, says that at a meeting of citizens at that place, resolutions were passed to resist every effort and every movement intended or calculated to produce troubles similar to those of last year; extending hospitality and welcome to emigrants from all sections of the country, and pledging themselves to let the laws of Kansas and Missouri punish all violators of the law.

JOHN WENTWORTH was elected mayor of Chicago on Tuesday, 3d inst., by 1,100 majority. The Republican ticket for aldermen was elected by a greater majority.

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MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, March 10, 1857.

Flour, Howard Street	$6.00	@ 0.00
Flour, City Mills	6.12	@ 0.00
Rye Flour	4.00	@ 0.00
Corn Meal	3.00	@ 3.25
Wheat, white	1.56	@ 1.60
Wheat, red	1.43	@ 1.44
Corn, white	57	@ 60
Corn, yellow	58	@ 61
Rye, Pennsylvania	76	@ 78
Rye, Virginia	75	@ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	40	@ 45
Oats, Pennsylvania	00	@ 00
Clover Seed	8.00	@ 8.25
Timothy Seed	3.50	@ 3.75
Hay, Timothy	15.00	@20.00
Hops	7	@ 14
Potatoes, Mercer	70	@ 75
Bacon, Shoulders	8	@ 9½
Bacon, Sides	10	@ 11
Bacon, Hams	13	@ 00
Pork, Mess	23.75	@24.50
Pork, Prime	18.00	@18.50
Beef, Mess	17.00	@18.00
Lard, in barrels	14	@ 14½
Lard, in kegs	15½	@ 16
Wool, Unwashed	26	@ 27
Wool, Washed	33	@ 36
Wool, Pulled	30	@ 34
Wool, Fleece, common	35	@ 35
Wool, Fleece, fine	50	@ 50
Wool, Choice Merino	50	@ 55
Butter, Western, in kegs	13	@ 14
Butter, Roll	20	@ 23
Cheese	10	@ 12½
Coffee, Rio	10	@ 10¾
Coffee, Java	15	@ 15½

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, March 10, 1857.

Flour, State brands	$6.30	@ 6.40
Flour, State brands, extra	6.50	@ 6.70
Flour, Western	6.70	@ 6.90
Flour, Southern	6.65	@ 6.90
Rye Flour	3.50	@ 4.25
Corn Meal	3.25	@ 3.75
Wheat, white	1.65	@ 1.78
Wheat, red	1.40	@ 0.00
Corn, white	70	@ 80
Corn, yellow	72	@ 73
Rye	92	@ 95
Oats	48	@ 50
Clover Seed	11.00	@12.00
Timothy Seed	3.00	@ 3.25
Hay	80	@ 87
Hops	10	@ 11
Bacon, Shoulders	9	@ 9½
Bacon, Sides	10½	@ 10¾
Bacon, Hams	11	@ 11⅜
Pork, Mess	23.50	@24.00
Pork, Prime	18.50	@18.75
Beef	10.00	@13.00
Lard, in barrels	14¼	@ 14½
Lard, in kegs	00	@ 00
Butter, Western	17	@ 22
Butter, State	20	@ 24
Cheese	12	@ 13
Coffee, Rio	10	@ 11
Coffee, Java	00	@ 15
Wool, Unwashed	00	@ 00
Wool, Washed	45	@ 00
Wool, Pulled	33	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	36	@ 52
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Lime, common	1.10	@ 00

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As an index of the subjects treated in this journal, we append an outline of some of the leading articles in the number for this month. The January and February numbers are very valuable.

MARCH AGRICULTURIST, 1857.

Part of Contents:

Work for the Month: A beautiful, instructive article.
Calendar of Operations for March: A catalogue of work to be done in the Field, Orchard, Garden, Green and Hot-houses, interspersed with many valuable hints. *This is a special feature of this journal. The Calendar lays out one's work before him, and materially aids and systematizes his plans.*
Apples: Cooking dried.
Asparagus: Raising early.
Basil: Value of, and culture.
Beans: A good kind.
Bees: Spring care.
Broom Corn: Full chapter on Culture.
Barley: Sprouts killing cows.
Cows: Spaying milkers.
Draining Soils, No. 1: First of a thorough series.
Grafting: Directions for.
Grape Culture: No. 3.
Grass Lands: Renovating old.
Homesteads: Two amusing and instructive pictures.
Home: The Rural.
Hot Beds: How to prepare, with illustrations.
Lambs: Dead ones on trees, &c.
Kitchen Garden: Planning work for.
Onion Culture: Full chapter.
Ox Yokes: Hints on.
Peach Culture: No. 1.
Pear: The Virgalieu.
Peas: Garden culture, a complete chapter on.
Plants: Over feeding.
Potatoes, Early: How to get.
Preserving Fruits: Editor's experience this season.
Pruning: When and how.
Pumpkins, &c.: Mixing Seed.
Rainy Day Rambles of a Farmer, No. 2: Very good.
Rhubarb: A grower's experience.
Scion Cutting: Directions.
Seeds: Important hints on proving before planting.
Sheep: Origin of Merino and illustration.
Strawberry Culture: No. 3
Sugar-Cane Seed: Economizing.
Tobacco: A full and very complete chapter on culture, care, harvesting, &c.
Trees: Planting and grafting.
Trees: Best ornamental.
Woodlands: White Pines, &c.

APRIL AGRICULTURIST, 1857.

The April AGRICULTURIST, now in course of preparation, will contain sixty to seventy articles on SPRING WORK, with many excellent hints on the various things to be done throughout the month; it will be the best paper ever issued. 532

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LEWIS CLEPHANE,
Secretary Republican Association, National Era Office, Washington, D. C.
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DEFENCE OF REPUBLICANISM.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN J. PERRY,

of Maine,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 27, 1857.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. PERRY said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: It was not originally my intention to have troubled the House with any remarks upon the message of the President; but as this appears to be a "free fight," I make no apology for taking an humble position in the rank and file of the combatants. The Constitution requires that the President, "from time to time, shall give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." In performing this duty, the President has taken advantage of his high position, and instead of confining himself to the constitutional limits of discussion, has travelled out of the record to arraign the people of the free States of this Union, and charge upon them numerous derelictions of duty, crimes, and misdemeanors, which, if true, are equally disgraceful to them as men and citizens of a great Commonwealth.

Judging the President by his acts, it seems he is determined that *Slavery agitation* in this country never shall cease. The sound repose which the nation was enjoying at the time the present Administration came into power, was soon broken by the ruthless repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and from that time to the present, the President has used his whole official power (to use his own language) "to prepare the people of the United States for civil war, to undermine the fabric of the Union, by appeals to passion and sectional prejudice, by indoctrinating the people with reciprocal hatred, and by educating them to stand face to face as enemies, rather than shoulder to shoulder as friends." I charge that Franklin Pierce and his Administration, backed up by the sham Democracy, have done more to *create* disunion sentiments, North and South—to weaken the bonds which unite the different sections into one Federal head—to create animosities, hatred, and bitterness, among the people, and to sow the seeds of sectional strife, which have already germinated, and, unless arrested in their growth, will end in a dismemberment of the Union—than all other causes and agencies put together.

It was reasonable to suppose, that after the heat and excitement of the Presidential election had passed away, and the great Republican party of the country had been defeated, the "verdict" of the people, about which the President so arrogantly boasts, would have satisfied his malignity of feeling towards the people of the Northern States; that he would have been willing to accord to them at least honesty of purpose in the discharge of a high constitutional duty; and, following the example of Mr. Jefferson, would have sought to allay and quiet, rather than foment and increase, sectional strife and agitation. But all such hopes and expectations proved delusive. The President, abandoned by his friends and smarting under the lash of popular indignation, forgets the rules of honorable warfare, turns "savage" upon the defeated party; and, with characteristic malignity, hurls his "tomahawk" and flourishes his "scalping-knife" at the heads of a million and a half of American citizens he insultingly boasts are "crushed out."

Mr. Chairman, among those charged with a desire "to change the domestic institutions of existing States"—"with assaults upon the Constitution"—with an intent to "burn cities, ravage fields, and slaughter populations," and "undermine the fabric of the Union," stand prominent the patriotic, high-minded, intelligent people of Maine, which I in part represent upon this floor. The people of Maine were good enough patriots in 1852, when they gave General Pierce 9,067 majority over General Scott; but now, when the tables are turned, and this old Democratic State repudiates both him and his successor, by rolling up a majority against them of more than 30,000 for Freedom and the gallant Fremont, he "shakes his gory locks," and cries, "Treason! Treason!"

The President not only arraigns Maine, but hurls his poisoned darts at all New England—the land of the Pilgrims—where repose the ashes of Warren, of Knox, of Warner, and of Stark, and their illustrious revolutionary compatriots. He assails the descendants of the mighty dead, and would blot out the memories of Lexington, of Bunker Hill, and Bennington. Let us look at the tables, and we shall find the true cause of this ebullition of Presidential wrath. In 1852, the six New England States gave General Pierce 173,514 votes; General Scott, 164,931; and Senator Hale, 57,143.

In 1856, the same States gave Buchanan 161,321; Fremont, 306,372; and Fillmore, 28,153. The majority against Buchanan is 173,234, and a Democratic net loss, since 1852, of 124,674.

It is my purpose, upon the present occasion, to meet and answer some of the specific charges and assumptions contained in this most extraordinary message.

Speaking of the people of the free States, the President says:

"They seek an object which they well know to be a revolutionary one." * * * * "Well knowing that such, and such only, are the means and consequences of their plans and purposes, they endeavor to prepare the people of the United States for civil war." * * * "They have entered into a path which leads nowhere, unless it be to civil war and disunion, and which has no other possible outlet."

After charging the people of the free States with a desire for "*civil war*," "*revolution*," and "*disunion*," and that they "well knew" and were "perfectly aware" of all this, he further says:

"I confidently believe that the great body of those who inconsiderately took this fatal step are sincerely attached to the Constitution and the Union."

By this singular shift he substantially withdraws the charge of "treason," and changes his indictment to ignorance, imbecility, and fanaticism. This issue I accept, and in my answer shall call to my aid stubborn "*facts*," as they present themselves in the official records of the country. As a matter of reference, I shall incorporate into my printed remarks the following table, which has been carefully prepared, while nearly all the returns therein contained are official:

THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT—1856.

In the Free States.

	Fremont.	Buchanan.	Fillmore.	Total.
Me.	65,514	38,035	3,233	106,782
N. H.	38,158	32,567	414	71,139
Vt.	39,516	10,577	511	50,649
Mass.	108,190	39,240	19,626	167,626
R. I.	11,467	6,680	1,675	19,822
Conn.	42,715	34,995	2,615	80,325
N. Y.	274,705	195,878	124,604	595,187
N. J.	28,351	46,943	24,115	99,409
Penn.	147,350	230,154	82,177	459,682
Ohio	187,497	170,874	28,125	389,496
Mich.	71,762	52,139	1,560	125,461
Ind.	94,816	118,672	23,386	236,874
Ill.	96,280	104,279	37,451	238,010
Wis.	66,092	52,867	579	119,538
Iowa	44,127	36,241	9,444	89,812
Cal.*	16,721	42,470	28,327	87,508
Total	1,333,306	1,212,601	387,843	2,933,750

* Not full.

Fremont over Buchanan, 120,705; Fremont over Fillmore, 945,463; Buchanan over Fillmore, 843,758; Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan, 508,548.

In the Slave States.

	Fremont.	Buchanan.	Fillmore.	Total.
Del.	206	8,003	6,175	14,484
Md.	281	39,115	47,462	86,858
Va.	291	89,975	60,039	150,205
N. C.	—	48,246	36,886	85,132
S. C.*	—	30,000	20,000	50,000
Ga.	—	56,617	42,372	98,989
Fla.	—	6,368	4,843	11,211
Ala.	—	46,817	28,557	75,374
Miss.	—	35,655	24,490	60,155
La.	—	22,169	20,709	42,878
Texas	—	28,767	15,244	44,001
Ark.	—	21,908	10,816	32,724
Tenn.	—	73,638	66,178	139,816
Ky.	369	75,916	65,822	139,108
Mo.	—	58,164	48,534	105,688
Total	1,247	638,359	498,117	1,137,723

* Estimated.

Buchanan over Fillmore, 140,242; over both, 138,995.

Recapitulation—Free and Slave.

	Free States.	Slave States.	Total.	Electors.
Fremont	1,333,306	1,247	1,334,553	114
Buchanan	1,212,601	638,359	1,850,960	174
Fillmore	387,843	498,117	885,960	8
Total	2,933,750	1,137,723	4,071,473	296
Per cent. of votes	72	28	100	
Per cent of Electors	59	41	100	

Buchanan over Fremont in all, 516,407; Fremont over Fillmore, 448,593; Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan, 369,553.

By the census of 1850, the white population in the free States was	13,330,650
In the slave States	6,222,418
Total	19,563,068
Balance in favor of free States	7,108,232
White population of—	
Nineteen States which voted for Buchanan	10,405,130
Eleven States which voted for Fremont	8,600,174
One State which voted for Fillmore	417,943

Thus it will be seen that the States represented by Col. Fremont contain nearly nine millions out of about nineteen millions, according to the last census. Take the population of Illinois, which elected the whole Republican State ticket, but gave her electoral vote to Buchanan, and add to the Fremont States, and it makes very nearly an equal division of white population between the two parties. Taking this as a basis, let us consult the census returns a little further. As much as I dislike to make invidious comparisons between States, yet, when eleven States, containing a population of nearly nine millions, are indirectly charged by the President with stupidity and ignorance, and want of common discernment to understand the affairs of Government, common justice, as well as self-respect, demands it. I have prepared the following table from the census of 1850, to which I call the attention of the House and country:

FREE SCHOOLS.

States.	No. of free schools.	No. of teachers.	No. of scholars.
Eleven Fremont States	43,023	51,913	1,984,011
Nineteen Buchanan States	36,996	39,063	1,356,758
Fremont States over Buchanan States	6,027	12,850	627,253

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

States.	No. of public libraries.	No. of volumes.
Eleven Fremont States	800	791,608
Nineteen Buchanan States	393	530,557
Fremont States over Buchanan States	407	261,051

SCHOOL LIBRARIES.

States.	Number of Common school libraries.	Number of Sunday school libraries.	Number of vols. in Sunday school libraries.
Eleven Fremont States	11,809	1,260	363,512
Nineteen Buch. States	251	644	149,794
Fremont States over Buchanan States	11,558	616	213,718

NEWSPAPERS.

States.	Number of copies of newspapers printed annually.
Eleven Fremont States	234,968,617
Nineteen Buchanan States	160,604,133
Fremont States over Buchanan States	74,364,484

FREE PERSONS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE WHO CANNOT READ OR WRITE.

Nineteen Buchanan States	745,880
Eleven Fremont States	240,409
Buchanan States over Fremont States	505,471

Every person who glances his eyes over this table can readily make his own calculations. In the eleven Fremont States there are more than six thousand more free schools, and over six hundred thousand more scholars, than in the nineteen Buchanan States—more than double the number of public libraries, and nearly double the number of volumes. In common school libraries the former leads the latter over eleven thousand, and in Sunday school libraries about double, with more than two hundred thousand more Sabbath school scholars. The eleven Fremont States print and send out more than *seventy millions* copies of newspapers *over* the nineteen Buchanan States; while the number of free persons over twenty-one years of age who cannot read or write are more than three times as numerous in the Buchanan as in the Fremont States. In the Fremont States, according to the population, one in every thirty-six is found in this class, while in the Buchanan States it stands one in every thirteen.

The President seems to have forgotten a great principle in which all sound political writers agree, to wit: that *intelligence* is one of the main pillars of a Republic. Where are we to look for *intelligent* political action? Is it where there are comparatively but few schools, few books, few newspapers? Is it to those sections of country where many of the people are too ignorant to read or write? And yet the President assumes and publishes to the country and the world, under his own hand, that comparative ignorance is necessary to true patriotism, and that education and the means of intelligence lead men into constructive treason and a desire to overturn the Government. Such is the argument and such are the legitimate conclusions growing out of the premises.

2. Another charge made by the President against the Republican party is an intention on their part to "change the domestic institutions of existing States." No assumption can be more groundless than this. There is nothing in the platform or principles of the Republican party to support any such allegation. The very first resolution in the Republican platform declares that the "rights of the States must and shall be preserved." No proof of any such intent on the part of the Republican party has or ever can be produced. All that gentlemen on the other side pretend to say in support of this baseless charge is, that occasionally a man acting with the Republican party may have uttered a sentiment which, by implication, they say, means the abolition of Slavery in the States.

Gov. Adams, of South Carolina, and a large number of Southern gentlemen—backed up, to a very respectable extent, by the Southern press, all of whom supported Mr. Buchanan, and act with the Democratic party—openly advocate a revival of the foreign African slave trade; and yet, Southern gentlemen upon this floor and elsewhere contend the Democratic *party* ought not to be made responsible for this.

Why are the supporters of Mr. Buchanan so unwilling to accord to the supporters of Col. Fremont the same justice they ask for themselves? Is it fair? Is it right? It it just? I appeal to Southern gentlemen, as honorable men, to answer these questions.

3. Another charge made against the people of the North by the President, is a "long series of aggressive acts"—"against the constitutional rights of nearly one half of the thirty-one States." This means a war of "aggression" on the part of the sixteen free States against the fifteen slave States of the Union; and the President confines these acts of aggression to the institution of *Slavery* existing in these last-mentioned States. Strictly speaking, it is not a war upon the *South*, but upon those interested in slave property *in* the South. It is an interesting inquiry to ascertain the number of this class of persons, compared with the whole South.

The following table, from the last census, gives the whole number of slaveholders in the United States.

Classification of Slaveholders in the United States.

States, &c.	Holders of 1 slave.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	Aggregate holders of slaves.
Alabama	5,204	7,737	6,572	5,067	3,524	29,295
Arkansas	1,383	1,951	1,365	788	382	5,999
Dist. of Col'a.	760	539	136	39	2	1,477
Delaware	320	352	117	20	—	809
Florida	699	991	759	588	319	3,520
Georgia	6,554	11,716	7,701	6,496	5,056	38,456
Kentucky	9,244	13,284	9,579	5,022	1,198	38,385
Louisiana	4,797	6,072	4,327	2,652	1,774	20,670
Maryland	4,825	5,331	3,327	1,822	655	16,040
Mississippi	3,640	6,228	5,143	4,015	2,964	23,116
Missouri	5,762	6,878	4,370	1,810	345	19,185
N. Carolina	4,204	9,668	8,129	5,898	2,828	28,303
S Carol na	3,492	6,164	6,311	4,955	3,200	25,596
Tennessee	7,616	10,582	8,314	4,852	2,202	33,864
Texas	1,935	2,640	1,585	1,121	374	7,747
Virginia	11,385	15,550	13,030	9,456	4,880	55,063
Total	68,820	105,683	80,765	54,595	29,733	347,525

White population of slave States, 1850	6,222,418
Slaveholders	347,525
Non-slaveholders in slave States	5,874,893

Only about *one seventeenth* part of the white population in the South have any property in slaves, and yet we scarcely ever hear a word or a sentence from that quarter in behalf of almost six millions of other citizens, who have not one farthing's pecuniary interest in the flesh and bones of enslaved Africans. Is there no other interest to be looked after in the South but Slavery? One would be led to this conclusion from the eternal hue and cry that is made to protect, spread, and perpetuate it.

"Northern aggression!" Let us look a little at this "mad-dog" cry, and see how it will compare with the great truths of history.

	Sq. Miles.
The area of the United States, peace of 1783, was	820,680
Louisiana purchase	899,569
Florida purchase	66,900
Texas annexation	318,000
Oregon treaty	308,052
Treaty with Mexico	522,955
Total	2,936,166
Territory acquired since 1783	2,115,486
Estimated cost of acquired territory	$830,000,000

From territory thus purchased, there have been admitted *five new slave States*, and one free State, as follows:

States.	Square miles.	Senators.	Reps.
Louisiana	41,346	2	4
Missouri	65,037	2	7
Arkansas	52,199	2	2
Florida	59,268	2	1
Texas	325,369	2	2
Five slave States	543,369	10	16
California, one free State	155,980	2	2
Difference	387,489	8	14

We repeat, from territory purchased and paid for out of the National Treasury, the slave power has had added *five* slave States to *one* free State—*eight* Senators and fourteen Representatives in Congress South to *two* Senators and two Representatives North.

But who *paid* for this territory? From official documents, and other sources of information I have consulted, I find that from 1791 to 1850 the revenue collected from customs is as follows:

Whole amount of revenue collected	$1,169,299,265
Amount of revenue in free States	932,222,911
Expense of collecting in free States	36,894,926
Net sum paid into Treasury from free States	$895,327,985
Amount of revenue in slave States	$237,076,354
Expense of collecting in slave States	17,362,393
Net sums paid into Treasury from slave States	$219,713,961
Excess paid by free States	$675,614,024

These facts demonstrate and prove that while the people of the North have only had a single State added to their number, to five added to the South, out of territory purchased by the General Government, they have furnished more than *three fourths* of the purchase-money paid for the whole. And all this is Northern aggression!

Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nine slave States have been added to the Union, containing 736,628 square miles, and seven free States, containing 448,256 square miles, leaving the balance of 288,372 square miles in favor of the South. Maine and Vermont were formed by dividing old States. I might pursue this part of my subject much further by showing the enormous amounts paid out of the Treasury for local objects in the District of Columbia, the comparative appropriations for the North and South, and the great excess of postage paid by the North; but I have no time to do it.

With the President, and many of his party, everything that does not *favor* the institution of Slavery is "Northern aggression." If the people of the free States think or say that Slavery is morally wrong—that it is not a Divine institution, and does not contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the country—"Northern aggression" is trumpeted forth through the whole country. If the people of the North do not leave their peaceful avocations, and turn bloodhounds to hunt down and worry out the panting fugitive who is running for liberty and dear life, then comes the cry of "Northern aggression," loud and long. And thirdly, to follow out the specifications of the President in his bill of indictment, if the teeming millions of the North and South, whose labor is their only capital, exercise their constitutional rights in a constitutional manner to prevent the spread of Slavery over free territory, and the degradation of free labor to that of slaves, then again comes the old charge of "Northern aggression."

Another charge against the Republican party, made by the President, is an "attempt on their part, by a sectional organization and movement, to usurp the control of the Government of the United States." This is, indeed, a modest charge to be made by the President of the United States against a million and a half of the free electors of this country! To organize a party upon the platform of Washington, of Jefferson, and all the early fathers of the Republic, is "sectionalism;" and to exercise the right of suffrage in a constitutional, legal manner, is a "usurpation!" The Republican party, which assembled at Philadelphia, in their call invited the people of *all* the States to meet them in convention. It was in no sense an invitation to the people of any particular section or locality. This call was responded to by gentlemen living in a portion of the slave States; and why was not a representation from *all* the slaveholding States present in that convention? It was not because there are no citizens in that part of the country who sympathize with us, and believe in the doctrines of the Republican party, for we have abundant evidence against this hypothesis.

Why was Mr. Underwood driven out of Virginia, away from his own home and his own State, after having attended the Philadelphia Convention? Why was Professor Hedrick driven out of North Carolina? The answer is at hand. It was because freedom of thought, liberty of speech, and freedom of action, are not tolerated or allowed in the South. Distinguished gentlemen from the South visit the free States, and publicly and privately advocate their peculiar political doctrines; and they are treated courteously and kindly, and are listened to respectfully; but let a Northern man go into the South, and preach the identical doctrines of Washington, of Jefferson, and Madison, he would be told to leave or subject himself to the merciless vengeance of a mob. With these facts before the world, staring almost every man in the face, we are tauntingly told that the Republican party is a "sectional" organization. My own State, (Maine,) which gave Fremont about thirty thousand majority, had delegates in the Cincinnati Convention; and suppose the Republicans on their return had mobbed them out of the State, and driven their families out after them; and then suppose the supporters of Mr. Buchanan, when they carried their votes to the polls, had been told that they could not deposit them, and their only personal safety depended on their flight from the State; and then suppose we had added insult to injury by telling you that the Democratic party was "sectional." This is no fancy sketch; *for these very things*, only *vice versa*, have been acted out, not in Maine, but in Virginia.

But in what kind of condition is the Democratic party, to talk to us about "sectionalism?" The people of the South were exhorted upon this floor and all over the country in the most earnest and impressive manner to come up to the support of Buchanan as *one man*. This was "*national*." If a similar appeal was made by the Republican party to the people of the North, that was "sectional." Again, who elected Buchanan President? Let one of your own organs, the New Orleans *Delta* of November 23, 1856, answer. That paper says:

"Mr Buchanan must remember that he is the President of a *section*; that he has been elected by the *South*; that the North could afford him only four States; and that he must be true to his position, or an arrant failure from the very beginning."

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

THE LATE DISTURBANCE IN KANSAS—FURTHER PARTICULARS.

The St. Louis papers bring us the particulars of the late disturbance at Lecompton, Kansas. Gen. Richardson, who died suddenly four days after the occurrence of the unfortunate difficulty, in a letter addressed to Mr. Paschall, of St. Louis, says:

"The Governor had visited the Council; went from thence to the House of Representatives, spent some time there, and when he opened the door leading into the ante-chamber, W. T. Sherrard was there, awaiting his return, no doubt.

"Sherrard cursed him. The Governor paid no attention to him, but walked on, when Sherrard spit on his back as often as twice; so say the two gentlemen who were with him at the time. I have no idea that Governor Geary knew the extent of the insult until the persons who were with him informed him that Sherrard spit upon him as he passed out."

The General, after referring to the action of the Legislative Council in relation to the insult to the Governor, says:

"I am satisfied in my mind, from what I have learned and knew, that Sherrard would have killed the Governor if he had resented the indignity. The Governor was unarmed.

"How long is our cause to be placed in jeopardy by irresponsible young men who have no interests in this or any other country? I am satisfied that we have more to fear from our pretended friends than from our open enemies.

I trust such disgraceful scenes may not occur again in this Territory. I do not agree with the Governor in everything which he has done, yet I give him all the praise for the good he has done, and freely say that I believe him honest and desirous of doing all the good he can."

On the 18th ult. some of the citizens of Lecompton held a meeting to denounce the indignity offered to Gov. Geary. The propriety of holding this meeting was doubted, and some gentlemen waited upon Gov. Geary, and desired him to prevent his friends from proceeding in the matter, as it was useless, and calculated to bring on trouble; but he refused, saying "people had a right to hold what meetings they please." Speaking of the meeting, the St. Louis *Republican* says:

"Upon resolutions (denunciatory of the insult offered Geary) being read, Sherrard came forward and said that the committee who had reported them, and every man present who endorsed them, were "liars, cowards, and scoundrels." A Mr. Sheppard, who resides on a claim near Lecompton, remarked that he was neither a liar, a coward, nor a scoundrel, and that he endorsed the resolutions as right; whereupon Sherrard drew his revolver, and commenced firing upon Sheppard, wounding him twice. Sheppard drew and snapped four caps, and the fifth shot hit Sherrard. The people, of course, became much excited at this wanton violation of their rights, and several shots were fired, when Sherrard and Sheppard both fell, apparently dead, and the affray was fortunately ended."

John A. W. Jones, Esq., was arrested by Mayor Stewart, as one of the persons who fired upon Sherrard, and he has been held to bail in five thousand dollars.

The Missouri *Democrat* has a correspondent, who, writing from Lecompton, says:

"Governor Geary has got two companies of United States troops here—one of infantry, and one of cavalry. It is reported that he fears assassination at the hands of the Pro-Slavery men, and has these troops here for personal protection. It is now generally suspected that they are here to prevent the Legislature from being lynched or driven off by the people. A strong disposition to do this is manifested.

For the National Era.

ALINE.

BY PAULINA.

Upon the bier they laid her,
In a proud ancestral hall,
Where the stately wax-lights flickered,
And was draped the pictured wall.
There were kindred forms around her,
But their haughty brows were hid,
And the wreath, that late had crowned her,
Lay upon her coffin lid.

Ah! those snowy buds and blossoms,
How they kissed the gorgeous pall,
Ah! those proud and guilty bosoms,
Draped in darkness like the wall;
They had borne her to a bridal,
With unwilling heart and hand,
But the solemn farce was idle,
For she sought the "better land."

How the censer waved above her,
When the anthem dirge was sung;
There were many hearts to love her,
There was one despair had wrung.
Then they laid her in the marble,
Where no sighing leaf may wave,
Where no tender blossom weepeth
O'er the maiden's early grave.

Where the songster never warbles,
In the drooping willow's screen,
Lies the pride of stately Avon,
Sleeps the sunny-haired Aline;
And her name has ne'er been spoken,
In her father's castle hall,
Since the day her heart was broken,
And they draped the pictured wall.

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, March 5, 1857.

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

The cry of emancipation from any section of the slaveholding States breaks upon the Southern ear, under the circumstances that surround us, like an alarm of mutiny at midnight, after the storm has subsided, and while the damages done are being rapidly repaired. But four months ago, our institutions and our Union were trembling and tottering under the throes of the most anxious, excited, and painful political contest that has ever agitated this nation, and the popular mind is but beginning to regain its equilibrium, the public pulse to resume its regular and healthful tone, when from Missouri, an old and unyielding outpost of Slavery in the West, comes the murmur of a movement towards emancipation. With what prospect of ultimate success, or under what auspices, this suicidal scheme is opened, we are not prepared to say. But that there are ardent and active advocates on either side, and that the question is to be definitely decided, sooner or later, we think there is little doubt. The malcontents of Missouri may move heaven and earth in their efforts to sweep Slavery from their soil, but they will be manfully met at every point and fiercely fought upon every inch of ground, by the undaunted defenders of the opposition.

There was a time, when not a few of the wisest and best men in Virginia concurred in the opinion that negro Slavery was an evil, and an incubus upon the interests of the State, when perhaps, if possible, some immediate means of emancipation would have been eagerly embraced by some of the ablest spirits in our councils. And it may be, indeed, that the opposite extreme of public sentiment on the subject, which now prevails with every class and craft of our people, is attributable more to the investigations and disquisitions induced by the doubts and fears of that day, than to every other cause combined. The institution of Slavery soon sunk deep into our social system; once embraced and incorporated among the elements of our organization, its influences, for good or for evil, extended rapidly in every direction, coloring everything it touched, and carrying weal or woe wherever it went, its agencies either immediately or mediately, ramified through every branch of business and principle of legislation; every vein and artery in the body politic were imbued with it. And being deemed an evil in the abstract by those honest and able but misguided men to whom we have alluded, it devolved upon them only to prove their premises, and the catalogue of incidental ills would have been incalculable, when an end so desirable would have readily suggested the means: and on the other hand, it became incumbent upon their opposing cotemporaries to disprove their theory, explode their false philosophy, and disabuse the public mind of the emancipation taint with which it was beginning to be affected, or to give up their ground, and enter into a crusade against the sins and iniquities, the demoralizing and impoverishing effects of the institution of Slavery. Investigation on both sides ensued, and the result is that negro Slavery is now considered in the Southern States, not "a mildew, a blight, and a scourge," but a social, political, and moral blessing, a special boon of Providence, both to the African and Anglo-Saxon races. Subjects so inscrutable in their origin, so profound in their philosophy, so intricate in their relations, and so comprehensive in their influences, demand a thorough understanding in every form and phase, and accurate apprehension in every bearing and effect. And we cannot but believe that the emancipation movement in Missouri, however it may be abetted by the outside influences of Abolitionism in the North, after it has been deliberately discussed and analyzed and essayed, will eventuate in a more encouraging conviction, on the part of that people, of the *indispensability* of the institution, under the enjoyment of which, in common with the other slaveholding States of the Confederacy, it is growing greater and stronger, and richer and happier, with every year that elapses.

So far as security in the Union is concerned, it matters little to Virginia or South Carolina, Alabama or Mississppi, or any other of the Southern States, whether Missouri emancipates or not. If the Constitution is to be maintained intact, Slavery might be abolished in every State in the Union but one, and that one would be respected in its rights as if the institution extended over the civilized world; if the Constitution is to be encroached upon, and the South must appeal for protection to the physical force of a numerical majority, the dissolution of the Union becomes a question of time, to be determined by such a division in the councils of the country, as to preponderate in favor of the opponents of our institutions.

It remains for the Administration inaugurated yesterday, together with a Democratic Congress, to test the sense of the people and the strength of the Union, by bringing back the Constitution to its primitive purity.

And if, in 1860, Abolitionism is still unchecked in its rampant ravings against the rights of the Southern people, the awful alternative of disunion must inevitably ensue.

Missouri may emancipate or not, it will be the same to the South in the end.

MR. BINGHAM, M. C., ON THE MINNESOTA BILL.

At the request of Mr. Bingham, we reprint his letter defending his vote on the Minnesota bill. Our own views on the whole subject the reader will find in the editorial columns. We should have voted differently from Mr. Bingham; but he is an honest man, a genuine Republican, no Know Nothing, and his vote was dictated by a conscientious conviction of duty. Those with whom he voted, however, were generally more Know Nothing than Republican in their views.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR: Permit me, through your journal, to say something in vindication of my vote upon the Minnesota bill, which vote you characterize, in an article of the 3d instant, as an act of misbehaviour. You assume that an opportunity was given to offer amendments to this bill, and censure myself and others for letting this opportunity pass unimproved, and then voting against the bill.

You are mistaken in your assumption. There was no opportunity given for amendment to this bill. Immediately upon its introduction, the previous question was demanded and sustained, thereby cutting off all amendment, and excluding all debate. There was no course left but simply to vote for or against the bill as reported by the committee. I voted against the bill because I considered and believed it to be wrong in principle and policy, and not because, as you seem to assume, that I was desirous to retard or prevent the formation and admission of a free State. The admission of a free State, formed within the Territory of Minnesota, is a consummation which I am as desirous to effect as you can be; but I doubt whether it is likely to be advanced by incorporating in the enabling act (as does this Minnesota bill) a provision which you *impliedly* admit to be wrong.

You say that "it would have been perfectly proper, while the bill was open to amendment, to have moved that the right to vote in the election of the Constitutional Convention should be confined to *citizens* of the United States." If it would have been proper to have offered this amendment to the bill, it would have been *proper* to have adopted it; and so you admit, for you say "it would have prevailed without a show of opposition." If this provision was proper, was it not wrong to report and pass the Minnesota bill without it? The House so concluded immediately after the passage of this bill, by inserting, with great unanimity in the Oregon bill, this very provision which was wanting in the Minnesota bill. These two bills, as originally reported by the committee, authorized persons who were not citizens of the United States, either native or naturalized, but ALIENS, to vote for the election of delegates to form State Constitutions and Governments within those Territories. The House struck this provision (without a show of opposition) from the Oregon bill, and inserted therein the amendment which you say it would have been "perfectly proper" to have inserted in the Minnesota bill. If it was right to strike this *alien* provision from the Oregon bill, it was wrong to retain it in the Minnesota bill, and equally wrong to enact any such provision into a law.

It seems to me, that sound policy and principle demand that only citizens of the United States, naturalized and native, without distinction, should be authorized by Congressional enactment to form State Governments and Constitutions within our Territories. The importance of this restriction and limitation you admit, and the evil result likely to flow from the neglect of the House to insert it in the Minnesota bill, you very clearly suggest. This *result*, as stated by yourself, is, that the people of Minnesota may, under the *sanction* of this bill, insert in the State Constitution the provision that ALIENS owing allegiance to foreign Governments may exercise the right of suffrage in the proposed new State of Minnesota, and send representatives here to legislate over citizens of the United States.

The uniform practice of twenty-seven States of the Union, excluding *aliens* from the exercise of suffrage, speaks in stern condemnation of this new policy. It is one thing to confer suffrage upon aliens within a Territory by a mere organic act for its government as a Territory, and quite another thing to authorize aliens by an *enabling act* to form a State Government and Constitution. By the organic act, Congress but prescribes the mode of petition through a Territorial Assembly, which petition, or Territorial act, as it is called, it is expressly declared Congress may allow or refuse, at pleasure; but by an *enabling* act, as you state in your article, Congress confers upon the people of the Territory the absolute right to form a State Constitution, and which right you say they "*must* be allowed to exercise for themselves," subject to no *limitations* or *restrictions*, except those imposed by the enabling act. It does not follow, because three or four new States have, without any authority of law, inaugurated this alien policy in their State organizations, that the representatives in Congress ought to engraft that policy upon *enabling acts*, and thereby, in advance, give to it the sanction of national law.

You admit that this ought not to have been done in this Minnesota bill, and that it would have been "perfectly proper" to have so "amended that bill as to have restrained the the new State from extending the right of suffrage to any but citizens of the United States." I agree with you in that; and because that restriction was not imposed, I voted against that bill. The House justified this vote, by inserting the amendment in the Oregon bill restricting the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, naturalized and native. It is quite apparent that, if this defect in the Minnesota bill had been known before the previous question was demanded and ordered, that bill would have been in like manner amended. The defect was not apparent upon the face of that bill, and could only be ascertained by a reference to the organic act; and hence it escaped the notice of the majority of the House until after their votes had been recorded in its favor, and the bill had passed. I doubt not that those who voted for this bill were actuated by honest purposes and patriotic motives.

As a Republican, desirous of the speedy and complete triumph of all the principles set forth in the Republican platform, and as a representative of the people, I cannot favor any legislation which is conceded to be wrong, both in principle and policy. I freely accord to others the privilege of acting up to their convictions of duty, and demand the same right for myself. In the exercise of this undoubted right, I voted *for* the Oregon bill, and *against* the Minnesota bill. These two bills were in direct conflict in respect of a very important provision, and I could not, therefore, consistently vote for both.

Very respectfully, yours,

JOHN A. BINGHAM.

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THE THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

AS FAR AS ELECTED.

THE SENATE—(Sixty-two members.)

	Term expires.
ALABAMA.	
Clement C. Clay, jr.	1859
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	1861
ARKANSAS.	
William K. Sebastian	1859
Robert W. Johnson	1861
CONNECTICUT.	
James Dixon	1863
Lafayette S. Foster	1861
CALIFORNIA.	
Vacancy	1863
Vacancy	1861
DELAWARE.	
A Democrat	1863
A Democrat	1859
FLORIDA.	
A Democrat	1863
David L. Yulee	1861
GEORGIA.	
Robert Toombs	1859
Alfred Iverson	1861
INDIANA.	
A Democrat	1863
A Democrat	1861
ILLINOIS.	
Stephen A. Douglas	1859
Lyman Trumbull	1861
IOWA.	
Geo. W. Jones	1859
James Harlan	1861
KENTUCKY.	
John B. Thompson	1859
John J. Crittenden	1861
LOUISIANA.	
Judah P. Benjamin	1859
John Slidell	1861
MAINE.	
A Republican	1863
William P. Fessenden	1859
MASSACHUSETTS.	
A Republican	1863
Henry Wilson	1859
MARYLAND.	
Anthony Kennedy	1863
James A. Pearce	1861
MISSISSIPPI.	
Jefferson Davis	1863
Albert G. Brown	1859
MICHIGAN.	
A Republican	1863
Charles E. Stuart	1859
MISSOURI.	
A Democrat	1863
A Democrat	1861
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	
John P. Hale	1859
James Bell	1861
NEW YORK.	
A Republican	1863
William H. Seward	1861
NEW JERSEY.	
A Democrat	1863
William Wright	1859
NORTH CAROLINA.	
David S. Reid	1859
Asa Biggs	1861
OHIO.	
Benjamin F. Wade	1863
George E. Pugh	1861
PENNSYLVANIA.	
A Democrat	1861
William Bigler	1863
RHODE ISLAND.	
A Republican	1863
Philip Allen	1859
SOUTH CAROLINA.	
Josiah J. Evans	1859
Andrew P. Butler	1861
TENNESSEE.	
A Democrat	1863
John Bell	1861
TEXAS.	
Thomas J. Rusk	1863
Sam. Houston	1859
VERMONT.	
Solomon Foot	1863
Jacob Collamer	1861
VIRGINIA.	
A Democrat	1863
R. M. T. Hunter	1859
WISCONSIN.	
A Republican	1863
Charles Durkee	1861

RECAPITULATION BY FIGURES.

Democrats, (in Roman)	36
Opposition, (*in Italics*)	24
Vacancies and doubtful	2
Total members	62

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Two hundred and thirty-four members.

ARKANSAS.
1. A. B. Greenwood.*
2. Ed. A. Warren.

DELAWARE.
1. William G. Whiteley.

FLORIDA.
1. George S. Hawkins.

ILLINOIS.
1. E. B. Washburn.*†
2. J. E. Farnsworth.†
3. Owen Lovejoy.†
4. William Kellogg.†
5. Isaac N. Morris.
6. Thos. L. Harris.*
7. Jas. C. Allen.*
8. Robert Smith.
9. S. S. Marshall.*

INDIANA.
1. James Lockhart.
2. Wm. H. English.*
3. James Hughes.
4. James B. Foley.
5. David Kilgore.†
6. James M. Grigg.
7. John G. Davis.
8. James Wilson.†
9. Schuyler Colfax.*†
10. Sam. Brenton.*†
11. John U. Pettit.*†

IOWA.
1. Sam. R. Curtis.†
2. Timothy Davis.†

MAINE.
1. John M. Wood.*†
2. Chas. J. Gitman.†
3. N. Abbott.†
4. F. H. Morse.†
5. I. Washburn, jr.*†
6. S. C. Foster.†

MASSACHUSETTS.
1. Robert B. Hall.*†
2. Jas. Buffinton.*†
3. W. S. Damrell.*†
4. L. B. Comins.*†
5. A. Burlingame.*†
6. Timothy Davis.*†
7. N. P. Banks.*†
8. C. L. Knapp.*†
9. Eli Thayer.†
10. C. C. Chaffee.*†
11. Henry L. Dawes.†

MICHIGAN.
1. W. A. Howard.*†
2. Henry Waldron.*†
3. D. Walbridge.*†
4. D. C. Leach.†

MISSOURI.
1. F. P. Blair, jr.†
2. —— Anderson.‡
3. Jas. S. Green.
4. —— Craig.‡
5. S. H. Woodson.‡
6. John S. Phelps.*
7. Sam. Caruthers.*

NEW JERSEY.
1. I. D. Clawson.*†
2. G. R. Robbins.*†
3. G. B. Adrian.
4. John Huyler.
5. J. R. Wortendyke.

NEW YORK.
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2. George Taylor.
3. Dan. E. Sickles.
4. John Kelly.*
5. Wm. B. Maclay.
6. John Cochrane.
7. Elijah Ward.
8. Horace F. Clark.
9. John B. Haskin.
10. A. L. Murray.*†
11. Wm. F. Russell.
12. John Thompson.†
13. Ab. B. Olin.†
14. Erastus Corning.
15. Edward Dodd.*†
16. Geo. W. Palmer.†
17. F. E. Spinner.*†
18. C. B. Cochrane.†
19. Oliver A. Morse.†
20. O. B. Matteson.*†
21. H. Bennett.*†
22. H. C. Goodwin.†
23. Chas. B. Hoard.†
24. A. P. Granger.*†
25. Ed. B. Morgan.*†
26. E. B. Pottle.†
27. J. M. Parker.*†
28. Wm. H. Kelsey.*†
29. S. G. Andrews.†
30. J. W. Sherman.†
31. S. M. Burroughs.†
32. Israel T. Hatch.
33. R. E. Fenton.†

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2. W. S. Grovesbeck.
3. L. D. Campbell.*†
4. M. H. Nichols.*†
5. Richard Mott.*†
6. J. R. Cockerel.
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9. —— Hall.
10. Joseph Miller.
11. V. B. Horton.*†
12. Samuel S. Cox.
13. John Sherman.*†
14. Philemon Bliss.*†
15. O. B. Thompson.†
16. Wm. Lawrence.
17. Benj. Leiter.*†
19. Edward Wade.*†
20. J. R. Giddings.*†
21. J. A. Bingham.*†

PENNSYLVANIA.
1. T. B. Florence.*
2. Ed. J. Morris.†
3. James Landy.
4. H. M. Phillips.
5. Owen Jones.
6. John Hickman.*
7. Henry Chapman.
8. J. G. Jones.*
9. A. E. Roberts.*†
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13. Wm. H. Dimmick.
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18. John R. Edie.*†
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21. David Ritchie.*†
22. S. A. Purviance.*†
23. Wm. Stewart.†
24. J. L. Gillis.
25. John Dick.*†

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2. Wm. P. Mills.
3. L. M. Keitt.*
4. P. S. Brooks.*
5. James L. Orr.*
6. Wm. W. Boyce.*

VERMONT.
1. E. P. Walton.†
2. J. S. Morrill.*†
3. H. E. Royce.†

WISCONSIN.
1. John F. Potter.†
2. C. C. Washburn.*†
3. C. Billinghurst.*†

* Members of the present Congress.

Buchaneers	62
† Republicans	35
‡ Know Nothings	3
Total	100

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